The Fang Peoples, an Ethnographic Monograph on a West African Negro Group

[Die Pangwe, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes]

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[Title page]

Table of Contents

		Page
Section 4.	Village and Household	1
Section 5.	Economic Activities	47
Section 6.	Food and Indulgents	126
Section 7.	Dress and Ornaments.	166
Section 8.	Craftsmanship and Tools	211
Section 9.	Fine Arts	269

List of Illustrations

/Figs. 1-15 from untranslated section precede the plates at the end of the work/

Page

Map 1. xiii
Map 2. xiv

Fig.

1. In the Forest near Makonanám, Spanish Guinea
2. Fang Youths (Essáuong and Omwang Families), Spanish Guinea.
3. Ntum from Akonangi (Essándun Family), South Cameroons.
4. Ntum from Bébai (Esseng Family).
5. Essun (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.
6. Ondo from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.
7. Ntum (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.
8. Ndong-Alogo (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.
9. Essún-Meko from Alén (Essáuong Family), Spanish Guinea.
10. Otscháa-Kénsoo (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.
11. Fang (Essátop Family), Spanish Guinea.
12. Medicine Man from Ebáangon (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.
13. Ajíngon, a Fang Girl from Alén (Essáuong Family).
14. Fang Woman from Alén (Essáuong Family).
15. View of the Settlement of Afáetom (Okõng Family), Spanish Guinea.
16. Plan of a Village of the Settlement Nssálang (Essáuong Family), Fang 8
17. Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea 11

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Page

Fig.

18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments 12
19. Post from a Meeting House in Malén (Essáuong Family), Fang 13
20. Meeting House in Olanga (Essángbuak Family) 15
21. Meeting House of a Ntum Village in New Cameroons 16
22. Piece of Roofing Mat 18
23. Small Village in the Settlement of Nssălang (Essáuong Family), Spanish Guinea 18
24. Frame of a House 19
25. Frame of a Fang Meeting House from the region of Komo (Village of Omvan, French Congo) 20
26. Cross-section of the Ridge of a House 20

27a. Ground Plan and Side View of a Meeting House in Majo (Schumu Family) 22

27b. Ground Plan and Side View of a Meeting House in Mbä (Essákunan Family) 22

28. Side of a Bench 23
29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region 25
30. Rifle Rack. Engugumo, Fang 25
31. Rifle Stands. Owŏng (Essandŏng Family), Fang 26
32. Fan for the Fire 26
33. Meeting House in Nschűggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Bark Plates 27
34. Dwelling in Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea 28

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Page

Fig.

35. The Door Part of a Dwelling in Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Southern Cameroons 30
36. Door of a Dwelling in Alén (Essáuong Family) 31
37. Ground Plan of a Pangwe Dwelling 32
38. Fang Dwelling 33
39. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door 35
40. Fang Stool 36
41. Sweepers 38
42. Dirt Shovel for Cleaning the Meeting House, Ntum 41
43. Fang Resin Lamp 41
44. Village of Olanga (Essángbuak Family) Southern Cameroons 43
45. Canoes on the Nfĕ (Tributary of the Campo River), New Cameroons 44
46. Bridge over the Abéa near Makonám, Dry Season 45
47. Bridge over the Bimfille, Rainy Season 46
48. Hoe 50
49. Ax 50
50. Bush Knife 50
51. Fang Women bringing Firewood from the Plantations 51
52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Miaze near Bébai (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons 58
53. Woman from Bébai cracking Ngon in a Cassava Field 62

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Page
Fig.
54. Cassava Shoot 67
55. Sugarcane Shoot 69
56. Plantains (Negro Bananas) and Bananas near Nssälang (Essấuong Family). 72
57. Sheep, Village of Makonanấm (Ojek Family) 76
58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Massóm (Ndong Family), Southern Cameroons 77
59. Fishing Line 83
60. Diagram of a Fish Weir in the Abea 85
61. Short Fish Basket 87
62. Long Fish Basket for Basket Weirs 87
63. Diagram of a Basket Weir 87
64. Basket Trap for Fish 89
65. Catch Basket for Fish 89
66. Diagram of a Fish Ditch 92
67. Framework of a Net Trap for Fish 94
68 and 69. Fishing with a Net attached to a Scaffolding 95
70. Spring Traps 98
71. Rat Trap 100
72. Ground Noose 103
73. Antelope Trap 104
74. Antelope Trap. 104
75. Antelope Trap 106
76. Potamogale Trap 106
77. Draw Trap for Antelope 107
78. Genet Trap 107
79. Gressor Trap. 108
80. Bird Draw Trap 109
81. Lemur Trap 111
82. Lemur Trap 112

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig. Page

83. Francolin Trap . . . 114
84. Bow Traps . . . 117
85. Elephant Spear . . . 119
86. Basket Traps . . . 120
87. Dog Bell . . . 122
88. Lure Pipes for Monkeys and Birds . . . 123
89. Crossbow . . . 125
90. Hunter with Crossbow . . . 126
91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person . . . 128
92. The Cuts of Meat in a Slaughtered Animal . . . 130
92a. Clay Water Flasks . . . 138
93. Wooden Plate for pulverizing Irvingia Kernels . . . 138
94. Shoulder Blade of a Monkey and a Tree Mushroom for cleaning the Grindstone . . . 138
95. Troughs with Pestles . . . 140
96. Wooden Trough with Pestle . . . 140
97. Plantain Peelers . . . 141
98. Stirring Spoons . . . 143
99. Calabash Spoons . . . 144
100. Ornamental Calabash Spoons . . . 144
101. Snail Spoon . . . 144
102. Cassava Roll . . . 146
103. Leaf bent like a Stirrup . . . 146
104. Ntum Woman pounding Cassava Leaves . . . 149
105. Men's Ladling Spoons . . . 154
106. Ntum Man scraping Sugarcane . . . 157
107. Wooden Tobacco Pipes . . . 162
108. Bowls for Tobacco Pipes . . . 164
109. Clay Tobacco Pipes . . . 164
110. Tobacco planted in a Village Square . . . 165

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
111.	Men from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea	167
112.	Fiber Belts	169
113.	Braided Belt	169
114.	Fang Woman's Back Apron of Bark Cloth	170
115.	Ntum Woman's Back Apron of Raffia Fiber	170
116.	Hair Styles	171
117.	Assoko from Alén (Essáuong Family), Spanish Guinea	173
118.	Ntum making Ornamental Helmet Crests	173
119.	Helmet Caps	174
120.	Hair Ornaments	178
121.	Nose Ornaments	178
122.	Beaded Forehead Bands	180
123.	Necklace of the Fruit of Coix lacryma (Job's-tears)	180
124.	Ntum Woman from Alén (Essandun Family)	180
125.	Necklace of Teeth from Dogs and Monkeys	182
126.	Necklace of Simulated Teeth	182
127.	Pendant of Neck Ornament	182
128.	Pendant of Ebony and Brass Wire	182
129.	Necklace with Eagle's Talon	182
130.	Necklace with Fruit of Chrysophyllum tessmanni Engl.	184
131.	Neck Ornaments	184
132.	Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish 'Guinea	185
133.	Ntum Woman from Akonangí (Essandun Family)	186

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Page

Fig.

134. Arm Band of Palm Strips 187
135. Braided Arm Band 187
136. Brass Bracelets 187
137. Finger Rings 187
138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region . . . 189
139. Combs of Raffia Bast and Wood 191
140. Razors 191
141. Two-edged Fang Knives with Sheaths . . . 192
142. Single-edged Fang Knives 192
143. Toothbrush 193
144. Oil Press 193
145. Extraction of Oil from Fruits of the Oil Palm 196
146. Cracking Oil Palm Nuts for Oil 198
147. Scraper for Red Wood 200
148. Vessels for Red Wood 200
149. Knife for making Decorative Scars 203
150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar 203
151. Decorative Scar Artist at Work, Bébai, Spanish Guinea 204
152. Tattoo Artist at Work, Nikolentángan, Spanish Guinea 207
153 and 154. Knives for Tattooing 207
155. Knife for Tattooing 210
156. Mutilation of a Front Tooth 210
157. Chisel used on Front Teeth 210
157a. Removal of Bark from Tree 215
158. Beaters for Bark Cloth 218
159. Making Bark Cloth from Bast Layer of Fig Tree 219
160. Bobbin with String 220
161. Preparation of Bast from Raffia Palm Leaf 221

080

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Page

Fig.

162. Making String from Gaertnera paniculata 222
163. Pangwe Knots 223
164. Mwele Device for hanging Cooking Pots . . 225
165. Storage Basket for Groundnuts 225
166. Women's Hanging Baskets 227
167. Knife Sheath 231
168. Small Carrying Baskets 231
169. Men's Small Carrying Basket with Hide and Bead Decoration 232
170. Basketwork Bowls of the Mwele 234
171. Basketwork Plates 234
172. Stages of a Stool 238
173. Adz 238
174. Chisel, Saw, and Awl 241
175. Making a Ladling Spoon 241
176. Stages of a Ladling Spoon 241
177. Spoon Scrapers 242
178. Making a Powder Flask of Wood 242
179. Drawknife for Spear Handles 244
180. Drawknife (and Scraper) for Spear Handles 244
181. Smelting Hut in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea 248
182. Sketch of a Smelting Works in Bébai 250
183. Bellows Workers and Assistant of the Medicine Man, Bébai, Spanish Guinea 256
184. Smelting Furnace in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea 257
185. Extracted Iron, Bébai (Schumu Family). . . 258
186. Groundplan of a Smithy, Village of Okö, Ntum Region 260
187. Hammer and Tapping Iron 264
188. Chisel for Ironworking 264

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
189.	Smith's Squirter and Tongs	264
190.	Clay Vessel for Brass Founding	266
191.	Form for a Brass Neck Ring	266
192.	Chisels for the Patterns on Brass Neck Rings	266
193.	Smith decorating a Neck Ring, Akonangi, Southern Cameroons	267
194.	Potter at Work, Bébai (Esseng Family) Southern Cameroons	268
195.	Stamp for a Pattern on Pottery	268
196.	Basic Patterns for Decorative Bark	271
197.	Monitor Lizard Pattern on Decorative Bark Plates	273
198.	Leaf of the Swamp Palm, Sclerosperma mannii	274
199.	Box Pattern on a Decorative Bark Plate	274
200.	Developmental Series of Modified Patterns on Decorative Bark	277
201.	Leopard and Chameleon Patterns on Decorative Bark Plates	278
202.	Composite Patterns of Bark Decoration	279
203.	Decorative Barks	281
204.	Decorative Barks in the form of Masks	282
205.	Carved Patterns on Stools	282
206.	Checkerboard Pattern	282
207.	Small Storage Basket of Jaunde Women	282
208.	Pieces of Sugarcane Stalk	282
209.	Patterns on Stools	284
210.	Strings of Cowrie Shells	284
211.	Developmental Series of Modified Patterns in Carving	285
212.	Stool Patterns	288
213.	Patterns from Hide Drums	289
214.	Mwai Drum from Malén (Sebo Family), New Cameroons	290

000

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Page

Fig.

215. Decorative Scars 291
216. Basic Tattooing Patterns 293
217. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of Tattooing 295
218. Tattoos 299
219. Tattoos 300
220. Composite Tattooing Patterns 301
221. Incised Patterns 302
222a. Decorations on Brass Neck Rings 303
222b. Decorations on Foot Covers 304
223. Decorations on Swords and Battle Axes . . . 305
224. Pottery Patterns of the Ntum, Fang, and Mwai 306
225. Drawings on House Walls and Bark Plates 307
226. Drawings by a Servant of the Author 309
227. End of a Chief's Stick with a Human Figure 310

1: Tessmann--xii E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

000

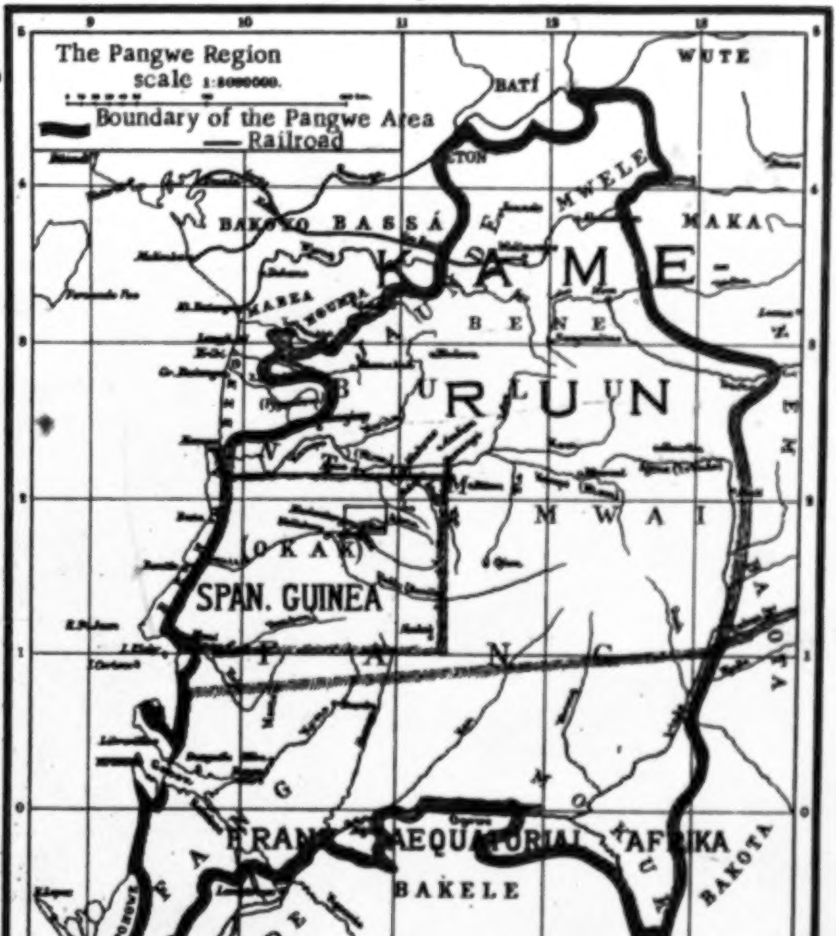
List of Plates

Plate Page

1. A Fang Youth from Owōng 326
2. Entering the Forest near Makonanám, Spanish Guinea 327
3. Ajóng Boka (Essauong Family), Fang 328
4. Village of Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea. 329
5. Interior of the Meeting House of Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Ntum Region 330
6. Groundnut, Arachis hypogaea. 331
7. Groundnut Plantation with Maize in the background, Ntum Region 332
8. Ngon, Cucumeropsis edulis Cogn. 333
9. Fish from the Campo and Uelle Rivers 334
10. Plants providing Salt 335
11. Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum. 336
12. Dwelling in Bebai (Esseng Family) Ntum Region 337
13. Man from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea 338
14. Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea 339
15. Woman from Bebai (Esseng Family), Ntum Region. 340
16. Rattan Palms providing Braiding Material . . . 341
17. Iron Smelting in Bebai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea. 342
18. Smiths in Bebai (Esseng Family), Ntum Region 344

131
496

The Pangwe Region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Boundary of the Pangwe Area
Railroad
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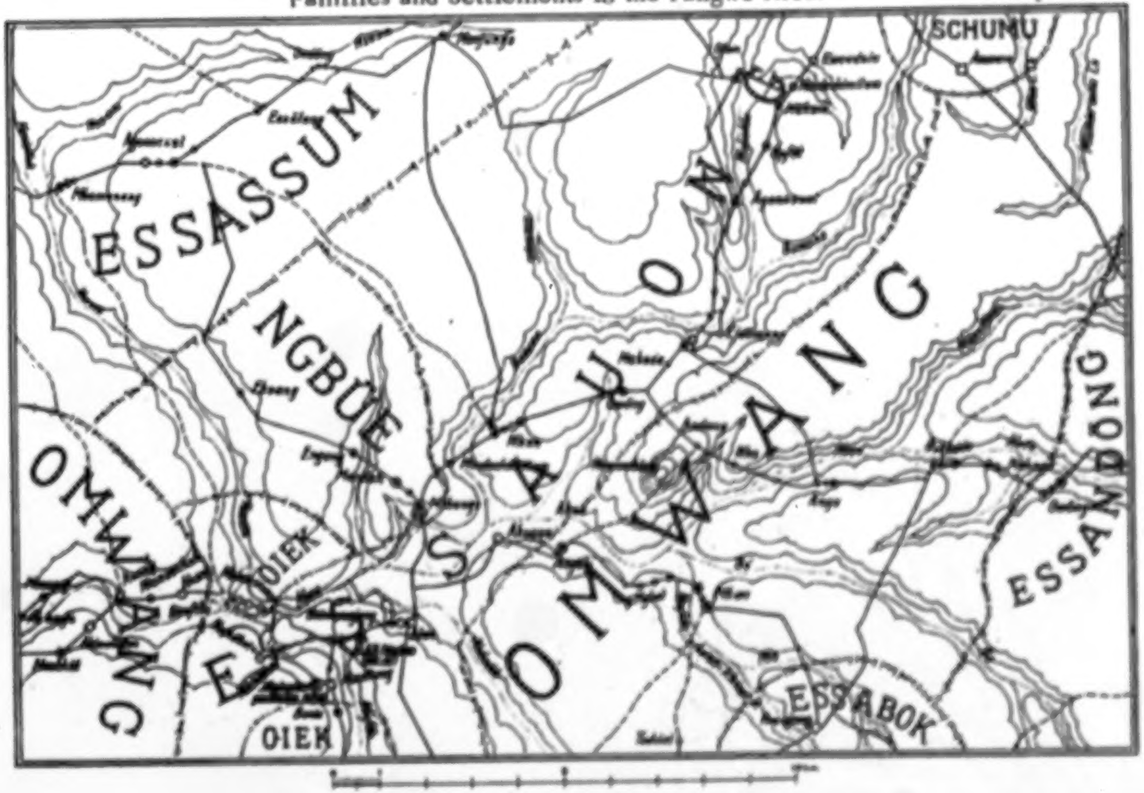
Map 1.

Map 2

Families and Settlements in the Pangwe Area.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1: Tessmann--xlv E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/51/

Section 4

Village and Household

000 Place names (their derivation and explanation). -- Names of fields. -- Plan of the villages. -- Settlement; development of a settlement into a village; village; significance of the name; growth of the village. -- Provisional meeting houses: plan, form -- Permanent meeting houses: scaffolding; roofing (procedure, material used for rafters and covering); side walls (material, erection, appearance); veranda. -- Interior of the meeting houses: posts; benches; fireplaces; furnishings (gun racks, trophies, and the like). -- Life in the meeting house. -- Dwellings: forms; appearance; door part; door; condition. -- Interior of the dwellings: sleeping benches; lofts and larder; frames with drying boards and baskets; hooks; stools; brooms. -- Raffia palm: kinds; names; uses. -- Storage houses; guest houses; field huts; houses for the sick. -- Houses on piles. -- Illumination: hearth fire; torches; lamp; mushroom torches; fire making. -- Village square (appearance, cleanliness). -- Toilet. -- Ornamental plants. -- Trade routes. -- Trade by water. -- Bridges.

101
361 In the large, jungle-covered Pangwe region /Ed., the author uses Pangwe /Fang/ as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele /Mvele/, Jaunde /Yaunde/, Bene /Bane/, Bulu, Ntum, Mwai /Mvae/, and Mokuk (Oschfleba)/ the settled areas are scattered like oases in the desert. They are unevenly distributed, and their greatest concen-
[52] tration is along the line of the main trade routes which cross the region for the most part in an east-west direction.

103 The place names are usually connected with either prominent landmarks of the natural environment, objects, events, experiences, or characteristics of the inhabitants. Thus, we have the following names.

(a) From palm trees.

103
824
1. Niescham from *a nī* = lay, *žǎm* = swamp, raffia palm, that is to say, the village is located where there are raffia palms, the most important plant for house construction.
2. Mabăscham from *a bĕ* = follow, *žǎm* = swamp, raffia palm.
3. Makoda from *akŏda* (plural, *makŏda*) = swamp palm, *Sclerosperma mannii*, Mann et Wendl., used like raffia for house construction.
4. Nkan from *nkăn(e)* = *Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum* Becc., climbing palm, used for plaiting.
5. Mekan, the same, plural.
6. Nsamenkan from *žǎm* (*nžǎm*) = swamp, swamp of the climbing palm *Ancistrophyllum*.
7. Alen from *alĕn* = oil palm.
8. Malen, the same, plural

(b) From cultivated plants.

9. Matumabai from *atú* (plural, *matú*) = taro, *Colocasia antiquorum* (L.) Schott, and *mabai* = two; thus, two taros. /52/
10. Bekaba from *ekába* (plural, *bekába*) = *Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott.
11. Emäangon from *a mĕ ngôn* = scatter ngon /a squashlike ground fruit/, that is, for drying in the village square.

(c) From edible wild fruit or fruit trees.

12. Essun from *esŭn* = fruit of the cardamom, *Aframomum alboviolaceum* K. Sch.
13. Madschab from *madzǎb* - oil from *Mimusops djave* (Lan.) Engl.
14. Fan from *fắne* = fruit of the Anacardiacea *Sorindeia rubriflora* Engl. (*afắne*).
15. Abe from *abĕ* = kola nut and tree, *Cola acuminata* (P. Beauv.).

103
84
16. Andok from _andŏk_ = _Irvingia barteri_ Hook. f., Simarubaceae. Mandok.

17. Nkoandok from _nkŏk_ = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Irvingia.

18. Ngong from _ngŏṅ_ IV = fruit of the _Trichoscypha_ sp. (_engŏṅ_).

19. Alöb from _alŏb_ = _Desbordesia glaucescens_ Engl. (Simarubaceae).

20. Mangame from _mangăme_ III = _Myrianthus arboreus_ P.B. (Moraceae), perhaps also the symbol of agreement, taken from syncarp.

(d) Derived from other trees.

21. Akak from _akăk_ = _Leptonychia tessmannii_ Engl., Sterculiacea, the tree of peace, the peace linden.

22. Makak, the same, plural.

23. Nkomakak or Nkolemakak from _nkō[l]_ = hill, that is, hill of Leptonychia trees (_makak_).

24. Abang (Abanga) from _abăṅ_ = species of Ficus, particularly used in the manufacture of bark cloth.

25. Mabang (Mabanga), the same, plural.

26. Akam from _akăm_ = several species of large Ficus, for instance, _F. preussii_ Warb. and _laurentii_ Warb., striking trees used for the manufacture of cloth.

27. Ajo, Jusch (Ajusch) from _ayŭ[l]_ = _Triplochiton tessmannii_, used especially for the manufacture of house coverings.

28. Majo (Majusch), the same, plural.

29. Nkolemajo = Nkolajo, from _nko[l]_ = hill of _Triplochiton_.

30. Owöng from _ovŏṅ_ = _Copaifera tessmannii_ Harms, famous spirit tree, largest tree of the Fang region.

31. Awöngabai, two _Copaifera_ (_abai_ = two).

31a. Ndschiowöng from _ndzŏl_ = bridge, bridge of _Copaifera_.

32. Elun from _elún_ = _Erythrophloeum guineense_ Don. (Leguminosae), striking because of its red bark, a poisonous tree.

33. Belun, plural.

34. Ejen (Elibengang) from _ején_, _elĭ bengăṅ_ = _Distemonanthus benthamianus_ Baill., striking because of its beautiful violet-red bark; a medicine tree.

1: Tessmann-~~4~~ E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

103 824 35. Andung from andų̆n = Croton welwitschianus Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiac.), beautiful by virtue of its shining silvery leaves.

36. Akom from akǒ'm = Terminalia superba Engl. and Diels. /53/

37. Makom (Makomo), the same, plural.

38. Nkoakom from nkok = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Terminalia.

39. Engo from engō', an unidentified tree.

40. Akoga from akǒ'ga = Lophira alata Banks, with beautiful, fragrant blossoms.

41. Makoga, the same, plural.

42. Assam from asǎ'm = Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., with a rich, fragrant cover of blossoms.

43. Massam (Massama), the same, plural.

44. Angok from angǒk = Albizzia brownei Oliv., a beautiful tree.

45. Dum from du̧m = Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn.

46. Medschimitum from mdežĭ = roots, and tų̆m = Piptadenia africana Hook. f.

47. Asseng or Assõng from asǒ'n = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br.

48. Massõng, the same, plural.

49. Nkoassõng from nkok = fallen trunk of the umbrella tree.

(e) From characteristics of the landscape.

103 823 50. Ngbai from ngbǎĭ' = leafless living tree (its winter condition).

51. Mekumu from nkų̄m I = standing dead tree trunk without a crown.

52. Ndangõng from ndǎngǒ'n = clearing.

53. Ewüöle from eyüöle = clearing.

54. Nko from nkǒ = hill.

55. Anko = at the hill.

56. Akok from akǒk = stone, rock.

57. Makok, the same, plural.

58. Maschok from mažǒk = rapids, falls.

(f) Derived from animals or parts of animals.

103 825 59. Schok from žǒk = elephant.

103 60. Mbang, and 61, Mbangschok from mbăṅ = ivory, and zǒk from elephant.
825

62. Mboleschok from ebǫ̆[l] = spoiled, that is, spoiled elephant.

63. Akuleschok from aku[l] = feet of animals, feet of the elephant.

64. Nnoschok = Nloschok from nlŏ′, nnŏ′ = head, head of the elephant.

65. Abumeschok from abŭm = belly, belly of the elephant, because they had eaten up the village plantation.

66. Bindeme from indĕm V = fruit bat.

67. Böngomo from ongŏmo III = chimpanzee.

68. Akulangomo from akū[l] = feet, claws of the chimpanzee.

69. Ebóloua (1) from ebǫ̆[l]-o-wǫǎ = spoiled matter of the chimpanzee, spoiled chimpanzee.

1. The official spelling is Ebolowa. For the sake of consistency I write Ebóloua, since by 'w' in German spelling I denote only labial sounds.

70. Akuasö from akŭ′a = animals' lair, zǒ́ = leopard.

71. Olamesö from olăm = trap or snare, zŏ = leopard.

72. Ewes from evĕs = bone. /54/

73. Bojabúnkulu from boyā́ = little wives (plural), bo = of, (n)kū[l]u = turtles; thus, the little wives of turtles.

74. Bebass from ebăs = scale; the inhabitants of this place probably eat a lot of fish.

(g) From objects.

103 75. Ntum from ntúm = walking stick.

76. Ebai from ebai = strands taken from the stalk of a raffia leaf, used for house construction.

77. Bebai, the same, plural.

78. Ngam from ngăm = barbed hook on a spear.

79. Bebada from ebā́da = carrying baskets used by men.

(h) Derived from experiences or characteristics of the inhabitants.

80. Bissis from isīs V = he who represents the shadow in the moon cult.

81. Elanga from elă'ń actually = the anus or, metaphorically, bad people.

82. Ekekŏ from a ke ékękŏ̌ = stay away completely, because strangers were seized and killed and they did not come back.

83. Esamedulu from a zắmădúlú = to carry on shamefully, that is, to have sexual relations with a woman of the same family.

84. Nssälang from nsę̌n = village square, and elǎ'n (see under 81); the people committed immoral acts, acts of hostility, whenever a stranger passed through.

85. Biänemajong from a bê̱ne, bię̌ne = not to be afraid of someone, that is, to have no respect, and mayon = families; the people have no respect for the members of other families.

86. Ajaofun from a ńă or nja̋ = to feed oneself, and fūń = maize.

87. Akinebetom from a kīne = to converge (by running) upon one place, and etŏm = quarrel; the people come running to one place in order to start a quarrel.

88. Oluriemang from olūń = annoyance or anger, and mą̌ń = coast; the people had been annoyed about the inhabitants of the coast - perhaps Whites; or it was on account of the distance.

89. Ngba from ngbă' = quiet, peaceful people (in contrast to 82).

90. Massambe from a să̧ mă tăn = to fish with a net.

91. Nschugebot from nžuge = to talk all at the same time, and bŏt = people; there are many people who talk there.

92. Euuma from a wū'mă̱n = to have a relapse in an illness.

93. Awomo from a vŏ'mǫ̆ = to faint; this name, like the previous one, alludes to the entanglements of these frontier villages between Ntum and Bulu.

94. Nnoajong from nnŏ' = the head, and ayŏń = family; thus, the "chief representative" of the kin group.

95. Ajene from a yę̌n = to see, referring to the mountains that are visible from the village, "Montevideo."

96. Ntedenga from *ntĕt* = hundred, and *ngă* = rifle; a hundred, thus, an infinite number, of rifles. /55/

97. Makunanam or Makonanam from *akŭn* = post, pillar, and *nnăm* = the locality; that is, a locality which stands as firm as a post.

98. Ndschiabot from *ndźĕi* = bridge, and *bōt* = people; that is, a bridge for people.

99. Ejamang from *a yăk* = to stay the night, and *a măn* = on the way to the coast; thus, one of the few villages favorable to travel and progress.

100. Ajaamentangan from *a yăk* = to rest, and *mentañgan* = Whites.

101. Akunekiă from *akŭn* = post, pillar, stake, and *ekiĕi*, of iron (compare 98).

102. Ebualebambe from *a bŭe,le* = to be broken in pieces, and *mbă,mă* III = large village; the houses were extremely dilapidated.

103. Niemajong from *a nī,ĕ* = to put inside, and *mayŏn* = family unit; that is, the village had been established between villages of other kin groups.

104. Ndschobangon from *dźōb* = sky, and *ngŏn* = moon; thus, moonlit sky.

105. Olŏadzob from *olŏi,* = hole, and *dźōb* = sky; a hole in the sky (probably between the clouds).

/Fig. 16. appears here in the original text. /

Aside from place names, the Pangwe also have names for fields. For instance, in the environs of the settlement Alĕn (Essauong) there are the following: *enumepfidi* = powder path; *nsa[k]* -*abea* = *abea* swamp forest. There are only a few special names for mountains, for instance, Nemembŏng = good heart (see the map); usually the names of mountains and mountain ranges are borrowed from those of the neighboring settlements. According to the statements of the present inhabitants, the names of rivers for the most part can no longer be explained, because, as the inhabitants claim, these names were taken over from the former inhabitants of the region. The same would seem to apply in part also to the place names.

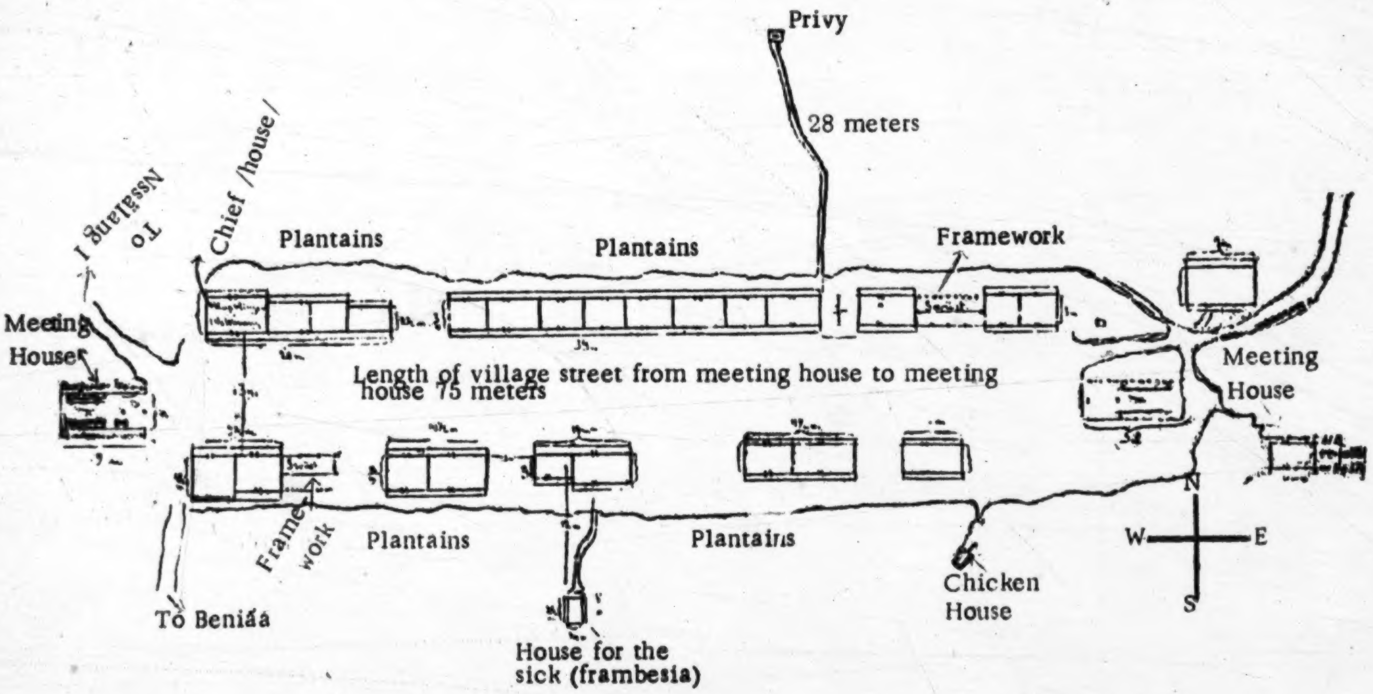
Privy
28 meters
To Nssälang I
Chief /house/
Plantains
Plantains
Framework
Meeting House
Meeting House
Length of village street from meeting house to meeting house 75 meters
Frame work
Plantains
Plantains
To Beniáa
House for the sick (frambesia)
Chicken House
N
W
E
S

Fig. 16. Plan of a Village of the Settlement Nssälang (Essauong Family) Fang. Made in 1908.

361 823 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the [487] preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nssälang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

[764] 1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result different villages display different stages of development, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

361 592 64 If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/. The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

361 children grow up, their father builds each one a house of his own
592 next to the original dwelling. In the same way, each of his addi-
621 tional wives receives her own house from him. His first wife, however, remains his favorite wife, and consequently it is her house -- in other words, the one that he built first and which is adjacent to the meeting house -- which remains his home. He keeps it even after the death of the wife.

The next step in the development toward a village takes place when, for some reason or other, a second head of a family joins his establishment to that of the first. This happens, for instance, when a member of the same or of another family unit moves in, or when after the death of the father the eldest son inherits his meeting house, dwellings, and wives, and the younger son is unwilling to submit to his older brother who is now also his chief. He or the new arrival, as the case may be, builds the necessary number of houses for himself and his family along the same row. Sometimes he may even build his houses directly /57/ /Fig. 17/ adjacent to the existing houses, and he will likewise finish off his settlement with a meeting house protruding from the line. If the meeting house is a temporary one, it is placed lengthwise in the square (see Fig. 16); if it is a permanent one, it is placed transversely (see Plate 4).

In this way, a "village" arises from the original individual establishment, and because, like a pair of eyes (dźīs; plural, mīs), it consists of two halves (Fig. 18), the village is called dźā́, plural mā́ (see what has been said about the meaning of prefixes /not translated/. There are, thus, two family heads in each village; their rows of houses join somewhere in the middle, with a boundary line which is recognizable, of course, only to the initiated. Everyone, however, can see the two meeting houses (belonging to the two heads of family) located on opposite sides of the village square.

The two family heads are legally equals. Certain conditions, however, which we shall discuss more fully in a later section, give one of the heads a position of slight superiority. Sometimes a third establishment is added to the two individual establishments constituting the village, and it also has adjoining rows of houses as well as a meeting house (see Fig. 18).

361 As has been said, the meeting house is the principal haunt of
621 the chief; in the same way it serves all his sons, male relatives,
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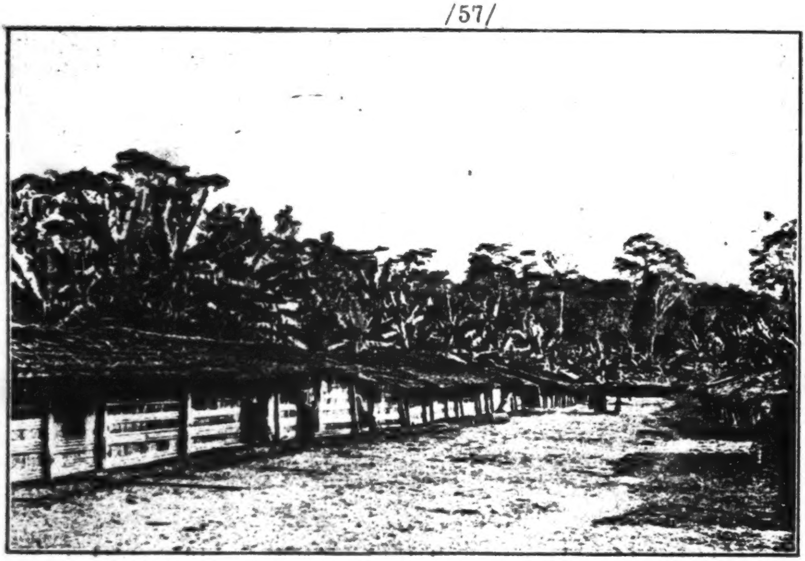

Fig. 17. Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea.

361 621 344 and followers who help him with its construction and have a permanent right to its use; /58/ /Fig. 18/ hence, the relational prefix a in abā,"meeting house"; hence probably also the Janus head which I saw on the post of a meeting house (cf. Fig. 19). The stem of the word a-bā I derive from ba, "to divide, to share" (1), and I believe that it was originally intended to designate the place where the game that had been killed was divided. The meeting house is now the place for all public transactions, from the dividing of meat to judicial proceedings, public deliberations, and the reception of strangers.

621 622 344 Sometimes the meeting house constructed when the establishment was founded remains permanently in a temporary state; it remains unfinished because the people are too lazy -- each one thinks the other should start first -- and the chief lacks the power

1. The same stem exists in the numeral two (bai), which is clearly the result of the division of one object.

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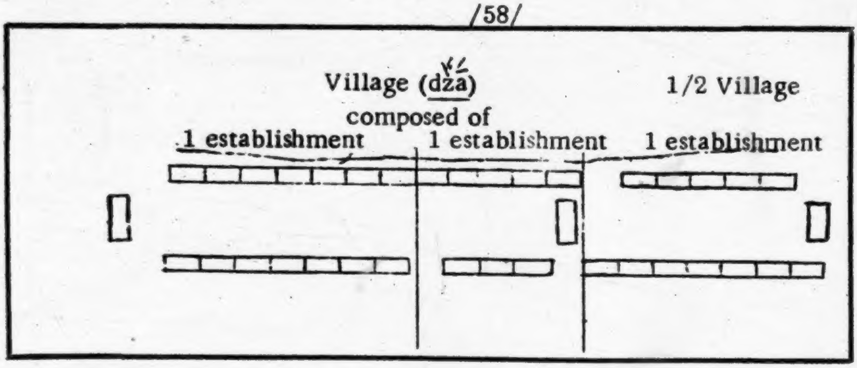

Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

621 to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief 622 of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting 344 houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so, 403 the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe 461 avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary 539 peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

zǫ̌[k]	e	tsídan	ebẽi-asẽ'i,	a	ve	oa
Elephant,	he	frightened away (from)	pit-iron-stone,	he	gave	you

atẽi,	a	nī	oa	adzi̧t
poverty,	he	took (from)	you	heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

344 461 In some cases, difficulties (such as tree stumps, roots, and the like) were encountered in preparing the building site at the customary place. As a result, the meeting house would be constructed to one side within the row of houses, though in a transverse position (see Fig. 44). Later, "they" frequently did not get around to replacing this building by a new one in the right location, however fervently the chief might desire it on behalf of the people. When they did get around to building a new meeting house, the old one was frequently not torn down right away but continued to be used along with the new one.

[532]

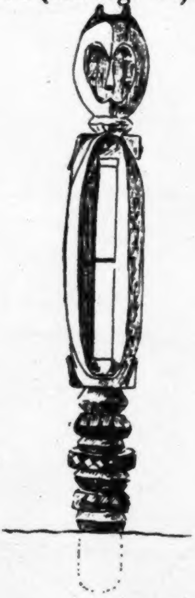

Fig. 19. Post from a Meeting House in Malén (Essauong Family), Fang.

344 In form, the meeting house (Fig. 20 and 21) has a gabled roof and a square or rectangular ground plan. I have already mentioned the custom of the Pangwe, when they start a new settlement, to content themselves with hastily constructed temporary meeting houses (ongǒṅ e ngī). Only later, when

344 the economic life of the settlement has attained a certain stability, are the temporary meeting houses replaced by permanent ones (tsĕñanắ III) -- although, as we have seen, in some cases they are not replaced. It is this process of gradual settlement which is responsible for certain variations in the forms of the meeting houses, variations which at the same time afford a picture of their development. The simplest houses (see Fig. 110) are basically mere sheltering roofs: a ridgepole is placed on top of two, sometimes three, posts forked at the top (akŭn) and about two meters high. These posts are planted deep in the ground which has first been cleared and then made level and smooth. Raffia stalks, bent in the middle, are placed on top of the ridgepole at varying intervals. These serve as rafters (see Fig. 24 f.), the lower ends of the stalks resting directly on the ground, that is, without any support. The rafters are covered with matting made of raffia pinnae. These mats, ešēi (Fig. 22), are made in the following manner. Several sticks are planted in the ground; to these are attached diagonally two long rods of raffia stalk (a), and over these rods is placed a pinna broken in the middle (b). This pinna is clamped together just below the diagonal rods by means of pieces of bark taken from raffia leafstalks. A second pinna (c) is placed alongside the midrib of the first pinna and attached to the latter in the same fashion. Then follows the third pinna, and so forth, until the desired length of several meters has been attained. The mats are attached to the rafters by being placed on top of each other, like tiles on a roof. /60/

A second form of the meeting house (Fig. 23) arose in the following manner from the one described. Because of the rotting of the rafter ends on the moist ground, as well as frequent visits by all kinds of disagreeable reptiles, it was found necessary to raise the rafters somewhat by placing beams under them. These beams are either unhewn trunks and logs or timbers that have been split lengthwise. The latter are usually placed with their cut side turned outward and piled on top of each other between several pairs of vertical posts planted in the ground. The roof lies loosely on the topmost of these timbers. This provides the start for a house wall. In addition to the motives already mentioned, another

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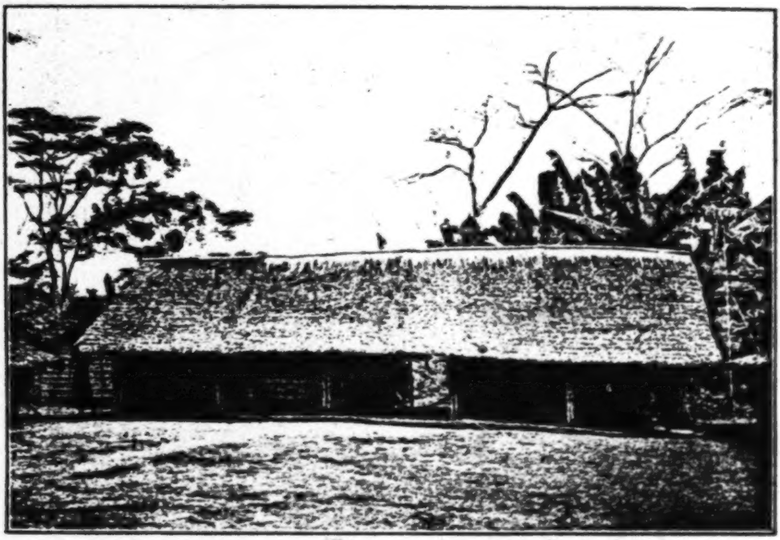

Fig. 20. Meeting House in Olanga (Essángbuak Family).

consideration plays a role, namely, in case of a sudden enemy attack the walls afford better protection against hostile spears than the simple slanting roofs.

In the case of the better permanent meeting houses, wall and roof are more carefully constructed. The main difference, however, is that these houses never face the village square with the gabled end, but with the long side. It is, accordingly, through this side that one enters the house.

As is the universal practice, they first erect the frame, a task which is accomplished in a comparatively short period of time. This frame corresponds in all its parts to that of the temporary meeting house, except that it is taller and wider (Fig. 24). The ridgepole (mbŭń I) b rests on the main posts (ábŭm) a placed along the long axis -- of /61/ which there are from two to five depending on the size of the meeting house. The skeleton of the front and back walls consists of a row of wall posts (mvī IV) c that are sharpened to a point at the top. As a molding (mfắs I) e, a raffia stalk split down the middle is placed on top of the pointed posts and pressed down on them by hammering or pulling. Then the rafters f, as previously described, are placed over the ridgepole and made to project a certain distance beyond the moldings.

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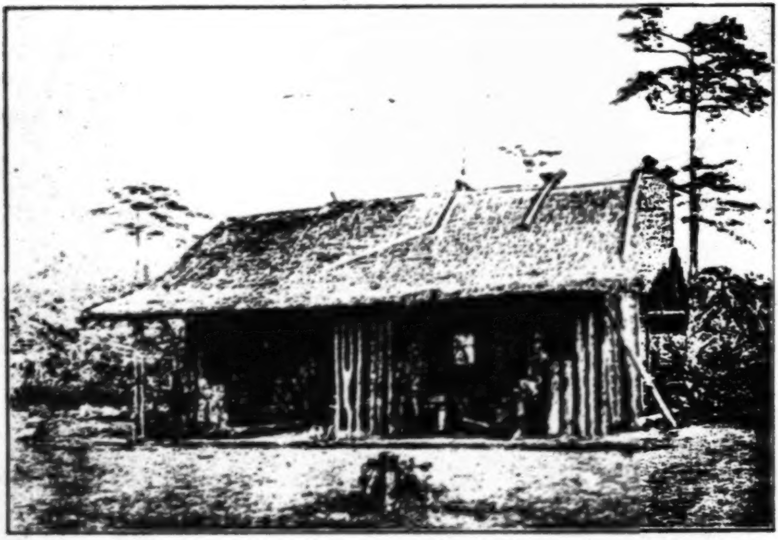

Fig. 21. Meeting House of a Ntum Village in New Cameroons.

The two outermost rafters rest on the posts that form the frame of the side wall (mvī, esú) d. Then the roof is covered (Fig. 26), a project which requires more labor than the frame and is carried out with much greater care than in the case of the temporary meeting houses. First, the rafters (ntū̆én I) f are clamped down by means of a bracket made of raffia (obībí) g, the bracket being placed on top of the rafters parallel to the ridgepole and tied to the roof beams. In a similar fashion, displacement of the rafters at the lower ends is prevented by means of two brackets running along their top and under sides. I observed a va[illegible]nt mode of construction of meeting houses by the Fang in the region of the Komo (Fig. 25). There the ridgepole was not supported at its free ends, but had been anchored in the ground by means of liana ropes and had been bent downward by tightening the strings.

At this point the mats are placed on top of each other like tiles. This is done from the top, and the process begins slightly below the ridgepole with mat k /62/ (see Fig. 26) and goes downward or, as the case may be, from below upward. The mats are tied either to every second rafter or to their own supporting ropes (mbêyǎ-ésē l) which run from the ridgepole to the raffia strip

344 that holds together the rafter ends. A less common procedure is to place brackets diagonally on top of the rafters and fasten the mats to them. Finally the ridgepoles itself is covered. For this purpose two roofing mats (obū́t, elắt-ésē̩ i) h are sewed together at their upper edges and are placed as the topmost layer /Fig. 22 appears here in the original text/ over the ridgepole. For protection, a special ridgepole mat (ngǔ́m IV) i is placed on top of the other mats; it consists of a mat bent in the middle which is clamped to the double mat by means of pegs made of the bark of raffia stalks l.

In those areas where there is no raffia, rafters are made from the leafstalks of oil palms (as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/) or from little tree trunks. /Fig. 23 appears here in original text/ /63/ In [124] place of mats, the leaves of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum. (okı̄ăikūi) -- see Plate 11 -- and of the swamp palm, Sclerosperma mannii Mann et Wendl. (akṓda), are used, as well as banana leaves to cover the gaps. This substitute for mats is not very durable and is laborious to manufacture since roof laths are continually needed to fasten down the leaves and it is necessary to place Aframomum stalks very closely together from the ridgepole to the edge of the roof; otherwise, the leaves either stretch or are blown off. The durability of a roof covered with swamp palm leaves is so limited that it stays in good condition for only a year, as the people told me, whereas a mat roof holds out for five years before repairs become necessary. /Fig. 24 appears here in the original text./ A roof covered with Sarcophrynium leaves, moreover, looks quite unattractive, especially from the inside where the leaf stems which are cut off near the blade extend into the house.

Once the roof is completed, work on the side walls begins. The material for these is the bark of certain trees whose names are mentioned in the discussion of bark crafts (Section 8, page 213), the leaves of swamp palms and Sarcophrynium, both of which are used more often for the gable walls, and finally strips of raffia pith and mats. The latter, however, are used only sparingly here because of their many small spikes.

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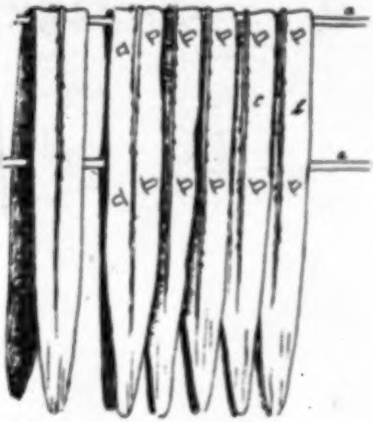

Fig. 22. Piece of a Roofing Mat at the Beginning of its Construction.

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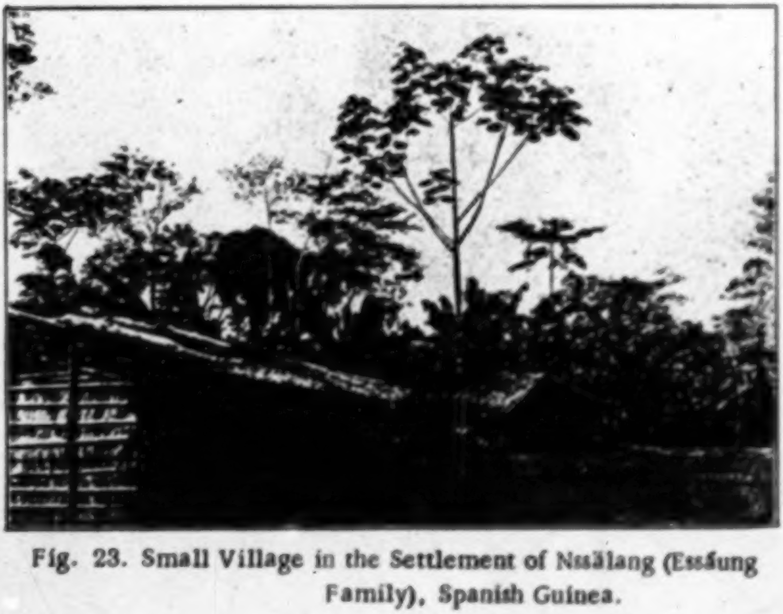

Fig. 23. Small Village in the Settlement of Nsălang (Essăung Family), Spanish Guinea.

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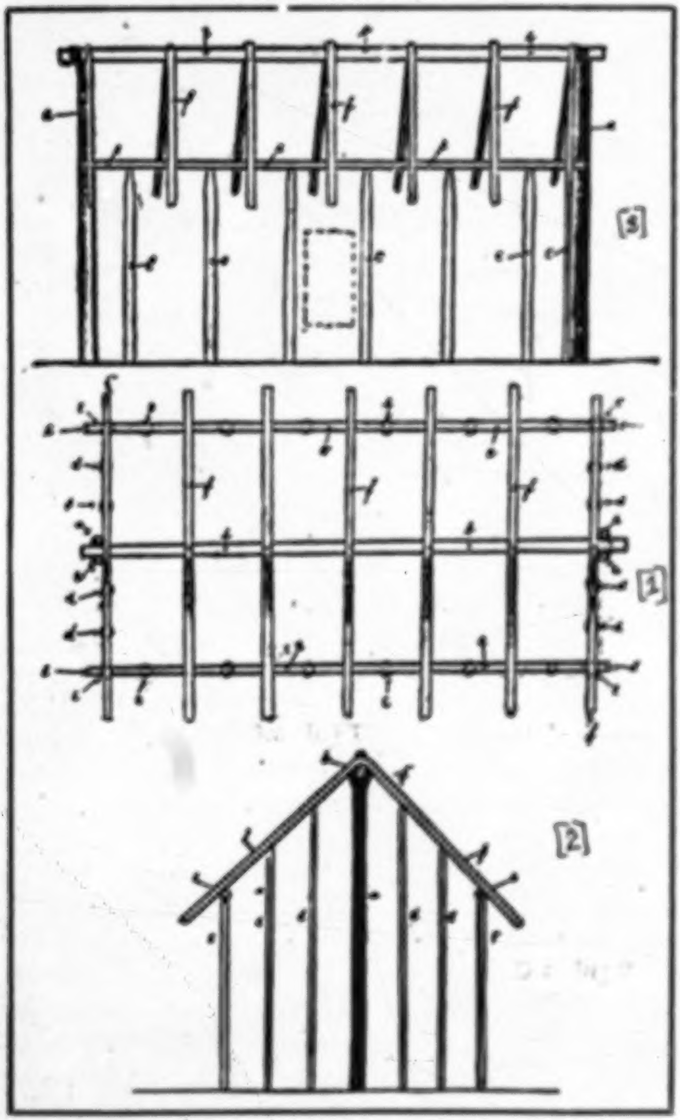

Fig. 24. Frame of a House.
Drawing 1, from above; drawing 2, from the front; drawing 3, from the side.

344 The pieces of bark, one to two meters long and approximately a half meter wide, are attached to the frame in the following manner. To the inner side of the wall posts longitudinal strips of raffia leaf stems (ebal) are /64/ attached by means of boards at certain distances from each other, and to these the bark pieces are fastened by means of raffia strips which run exactly parallel to the boards. The posts, therefore, usually stand outside the house, very rarely within it. The bark pieces and raffia strips are held together by bands of Oncocalamus (nloh l = Oncocalamus and band) (1) -- see Plate 16 -- and they are finished by two people working together in the following manner. One of them crouches inside the house, the other outside, and 584 824

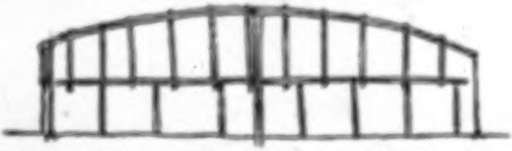

Fig. 25. Frame of a Meeting House of the Fang from the Region of Komo (Village of Omvan, French Congo). Cross-Section Lengthwise.

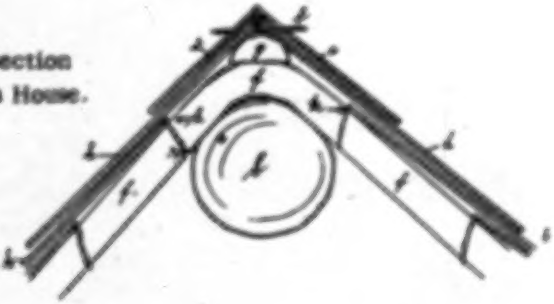

Fig. 26. Cross-section of the Ridge of a House.

[438] 1. The Jaunde buy this "bush rope" from Elandi, the only place in the Jaunde region where bush rope is still available; otherwise they use Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f. (atŭ[k]e ndžik).

344 [412] they pass the band back and forth through the wall. For drilling holes into the bark pieces, they use an awl (moń I). Just as we hammer nails in a straight line, the Pangwe also must fasten the various longitudinal strips in precise lines (see Fig. 35). In the case of raffia mats, because of the little spikes that have been mentioned (the same, incidentally, also frequently applies to the bark pieces), the laths are usually placed so closely one on top of the other that very little or nothing of the mats remains visible (as in Fig. 33). In the same manner as the bark, the pieces of raffia pith are held fast between the boards; strips of pith are placed next to each other from top to bottom, and at longer intervals they are tied to the boards.

The treatment of the walls varies greatly, except that the gable walls are always completely closed. The rear wall, which is never absent, usually has a few window openings, one in the middle in the form of a square or a rectangle and one on each side in the form of a horizontal, longitudinal slit. /Fig. 26 appears here in the original text./ /65/ The central opening is commonly used as both window and door, but it is so small that it requires some skill to squeeze through it. At the same place, however, there may be doors in our sense of the term, which extend to the ground and may or may not have a threshold.

The front wall may be identical with the back wall /Fig. 27 appears here in the original text/ (in other words, it is closed except for window openings on either side and in the middle); it may be only half as high; it may be no more than a parapet or a trellis made of raffia stalks; or, finally, it may be lacking on one side or be completely absent.

The roof is frequently made to project in front to such an extent that /Fig. 27b appears here in the original text/ /66/ a covered veranda is formed, held up by a few posts (omyǐmyį); sometimes the front area is closed off in front or at the sides by a parapet or trellis. A wooden beam which serves as a threshold prevents the rain that drips off the roof from running into the house (1).

1. When the house has been completed, the soil inside is usually moistened, and for a few days banana leaves are placed on it so the ground may become "strong," as they say,

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Drawing 1

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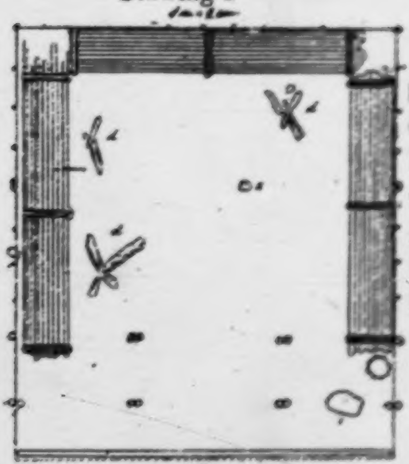

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Fig. 27a. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Majo (Schumu Family): a, main post; b, skin drum; c, whetstone; d, fireplaces.

Drawing 2

Drawing 2. Side view.

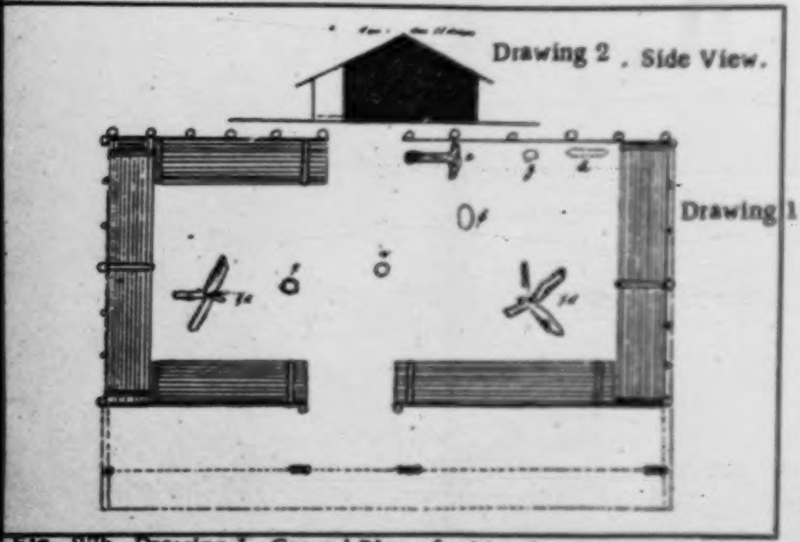

Fig. 27b. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Mbä (Essákunan Family): a, main post; b, forge; c, bellows; d, nets for wild game (c and d are hanging); e, anvil (stone); f, fireplaces; g, seat (tree stump); h, wooden drum.

344
532 The interior of the house (Plate 5, Fig. 27a and 27b) consists of a single empty room, broken only by the isolated posts (the central supports of the ridgepole). In some cases I observed that these posts were handsomely carved, but only in houses with one central post. The carvings showed stylized or modified human figures (Fig. 19) and quite faithful representations of animals. I recall, for instance, a very beautiful post on which was pictured a pig biting the tail of a leopard, which I saw in the village of Bingomo (Abǎi family).

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[342] Along the walls there are low benches of which I have seen two different types. The simplest benches, hence the ones designed more often for temporary meeting houses, consist of the trunks of umbrella trees (*Musanga*) which have been split lengthwise down the middle or of raffia stalks which have simply been placed across two shelves of the same wood (kū́dū III). The same kind of bench is always found in places where there is no raffia and also in huts that serve as lodgings for guests. The second type of bench (see Fig. 28 and 29) is a rectangular frame of raffia stalks (enǒn) split lengthwise down the middle; its narrow side consists in each case of two legs (a = akǒŋ-nǒŋ) with pointed pins (c = mbǎn -ak. I Fang, oŋǎn Jaunde) which pierce and hold together four layers, placed on top of each other: the lowest, a wooden ledge, and then three raffia stalks. The wooden ledge (b = ojǒmé ja-enǒn) has a central section cut out for the support of nine or more stalks (e) wedged into it, which constitute the seat of the bench; the three raffia stalks (d = kū́dū -enǒn III) serve to hold down the latter and also as a head and foot rest. Sometimes there is also a back rest (f = aŋ́gebě -enǒn), consisting of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and simply placed on top of

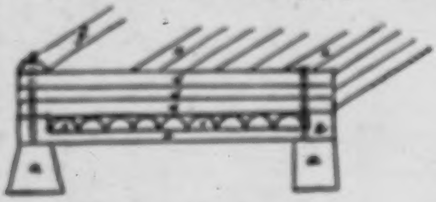

Fig. 28. Side of a Bench.

344 the lengthened pin of the back legs.

352 In some meeting houses the front legs project to form a semicircle which covers up the narrow sides of the head rests. The
[531] outer surface of these semicircles is either carved to look like a face or else incised and provided with decorative surfaces which are painted red and white (Fig. 29). /Fig. 28 appears here in the original text./ /67/

344 Next to the benches, the most important part of the furnishings
354 of the meeting house consists of a number of logs which are placed together to form a fireplace (see Fig. 27). During the day the fire burns constantly, and during the night the logs are placed together so skillfully that the fire often keeps going until the next morning. /Fig. 29 appears here in the original text./ The importance of the cheering fire in the tropics is greater than one might believe; not only does it serve as a protection against the frequently severe morning chill and warm the room on days when the weather is rainy and cold, but it is also the only means of protection against
[537] the exceedingly annoying sand flies, Culicoides (afige), tiny, scarcely visible insects whose sting causes an unpleasant itch like that of stinging nettles.

344 For the rest, the furnishings of the meeting house consist only
263 of such items as drums (wooden and skin drums), a whetstone, and,
352 suspended from the roof, the large hunting net which the inhabitants use communally on drives. In some cases I also found gun racks (ekob e nga), Figure 30, which are attached to the wall in the same way as we attach clothes hooks. Guns are placed on these racks so they are handy in case of a sudden attack. Another form of this rack (Fig. 31), likewise not common, consists of a board which is pointed at the bottom and provided with a hole at the top. This gun rack (efa[k] -e-nga) is planted in the ground in front of the meeting house. The butt end of the rifle is placed on the ground and the barrel is put in the hole in the board.

344 The skulls of hunted animals are frequently kept in the meeting
263 house as hunting trophies. Either they are held under the roof mats by means of poles, or they can be seen lying around on the roof; only large skulls, like those of elephants, are sometimes placed in front of the house. /Fig. 30 appears here in the original text./

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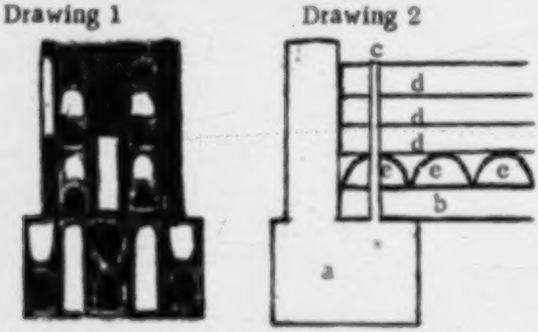

Fig. 29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region.
Drawing 1, front view;
Drawing 2, side view.

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[325]
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In many meeting houses, furthermore, one sees /68/ a forge (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 *b*) and the tools used by a smith, namely, a bellows suspended from the roof (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 *c*) and a smith's stone (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 *e*) which at the same time is used as a whetstone and also as a fan for the fire (*eyuh e nduan*), Figure 32. Finally we must also mention the famous tobacco pipe made from the stem of a banana leaf, which is placed across two hooks in the wall.

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It goes without saying that in addition to the above-mentioned furnishings there are all kinds of rubbish lying around in the house, such as half-finished baskets, fishing nets, tools, leftover food, and so forth, scarcely designed to give the whole a more attractive appearance. /Fig. 31 appears here in the original text./

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The meeting houses are very seldom embellished with decorative bark, either on the outside (Fig. 33) or on the inside. More frequently, however, we find the bark walls, especially on the gabled sides,

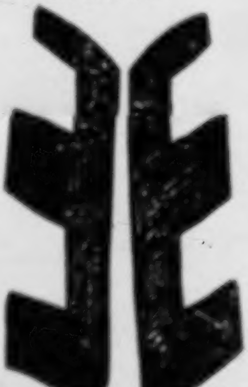

Fig. 30. Rifle Rack, Engugumo, Fang.

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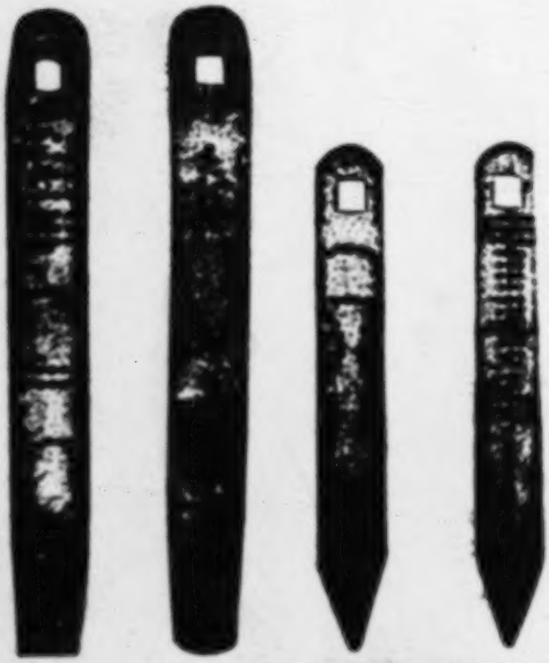

Fig. 31. Rifle Stands. Owõng (Esandöng Family); Fang.

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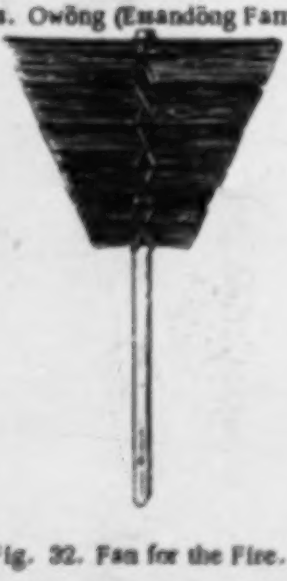

Fig. 32. Fan for the Fire.

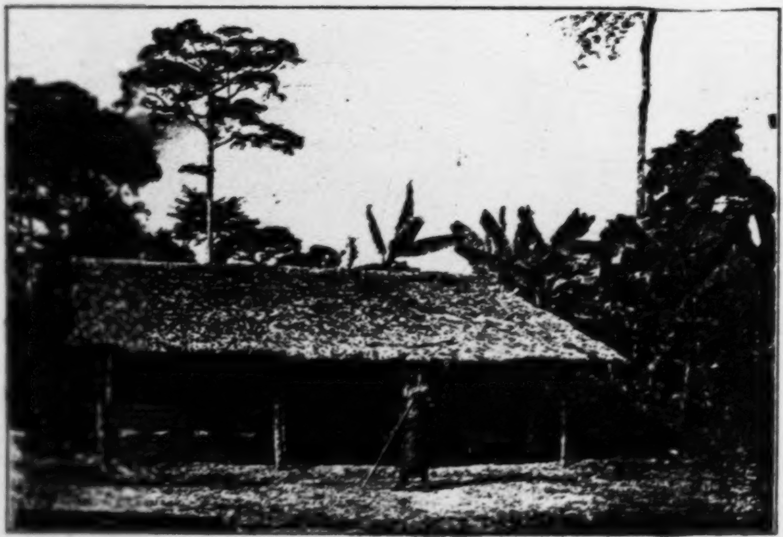

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Fig. 33. Meeting House in Nschüggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Boards of Bark.

covered with charcoal drawings on the inside between the raffia 344
boards. At this point, however, I cannot go into this art work 353
in any greater detail (see Section 9, "Fine Arts"). 531

If it were not for the people who enliven the house with their 344
handicrafts and activities, /Fig. 32 appears here in the original 517
text/ if the flaring fire did not lend the large, dark rooms a special, almost mysterious quality -- it would be too dreary. It is precisely here that one notices how everywhere only pulsating life, man in his sad and in his happy hours, not the material environment, is capable of attracting us. The same room which we dis- 344
posed of just now with a disparaging glance is capable of creating 517
a totally different impression in the evenings when the men and 538
young /69/ /Fig. 33 appears here in the original text/ people gradually congregate in the meeting house in order to listen
to the old, hunchbacked Njema-Ndongo tell of the mysterious [73]
and uncanny creatures of the fabulous world. Indefatigably they listen, however long he may spin out his yarn, motionless they look at him as he restlessly rubs his hands over the fire, wags his finger threateningly, separates or pushes aside the logs when the

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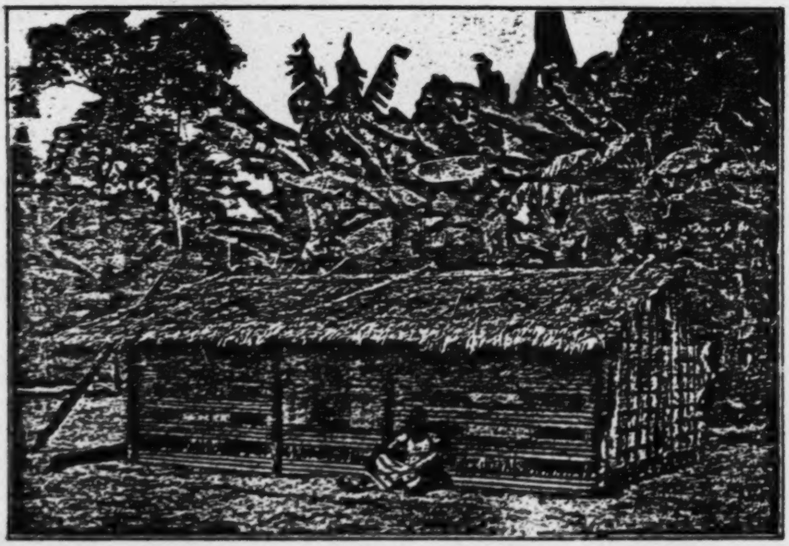

Fig. 34. Dwelling in Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

344 fire gets too hot for him, and wards off the smoke from his face
517 like a person gently but firmly sending a little child away! He
538 looks as though he is talking to the fire and delivering a speech
to the logs. Everybody listens in silence, everybody hangs on
his words. And then follows a deliberate pause, after which he
begins anew with impressive intonation; and at familiar places
all the listeners enter into the narrative with a brief choral song
in response to the solo part of the old man. Or there may be a
344 bit of gossip to relate, with a hubbub of biting words, an occasion
517 for spontaneous gaiety to prevail. On yet another occasion
521 a performance by a famous xylophone artist will draw
533 the population to the meeting house. The entire village, women
and children included, takes part in these recitals; the children
beat out the rhythm with small pieces of wood, while the
women, with great dignity, beat together groundnuts and ngon,
which represent the "fee" and, softly humming a refrain, cast
a meaningful glance in the direction of the tireless player.

The dwelling (ndă; plural, mandă), Figure 34, like the
342 meeting house, /70/ /Fig. 34 appears here in the original text/
has a gabled roof and a rectangular ground plan. Like meeting
houses, dwellings have both temporary and permanent forms.

342 Temporary dwellings are situated in the row of houses with their gables facing the village square, while the permanent ones have their long side turned toward it. A further difference between the two lies in the fact that in the temporary dwellings the door is placed on the gabled side and the walls on the two long sides are built up to a height of only about half a meter in order to save time; the roofs correspondingly extend farther down so that they almost touch the ground. The resultant greater steepness of the roof enables the rain water to drain off more rapidly, and thus makes it possible to save building material since it is not necessary to place the mats so closely on top of one another.

The permanent dwellings always have four complete walls and lack windows. A door, whose threshold is half a meter above the ground, thus giving the impression of a window, is made in the middle of the long wall. Most houses, in fact, have a door which is frequently not much wider than our casements in both the front wall and the opposite back wall. By and large, the construction of the dwelling is like that of the meeting house, except that the number of posts for the front wall is often reduced to four. For this reason, these posts are thicker and conspicuous for their careful workmanship. For the side walls in both the dwelling and the meeting house, not tree bark but swamp palms are used -- more rarely Sarcophrynium leaves or strips of raffia pith -- /71/ /Fig. 35 appears here in the original text/ whenever there is a concern for a more tasteful exterior. Sometimes a covered anteroom is formed in front of the house by propping up the overarching roof with posts along its free edge, as is done in the case of the meeting house.

The section of the front wall between the two central posts, where the door opening has been cut out, is frequently worked with great care; at least a number of short longitudinal strips of raffia will be inserted, especially between the ground and the threshold (Fig. 35). The threshold (mpfá‿dega I) (1), as well as the lintel in many cases, consists of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and cut out at both ends in the form of a swallow

1. Stem pfa (fa), "to compress, to wedge."

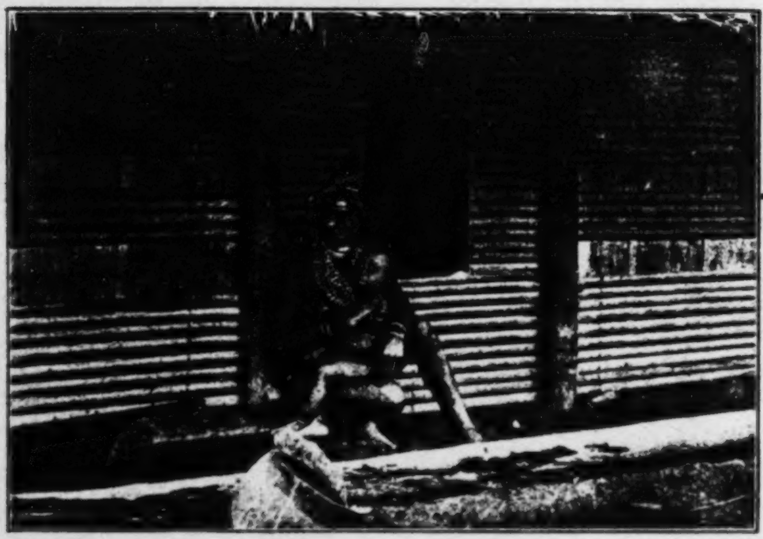

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Fig. 35. The Door Part of a Dwelling in Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Southern Cameroons.

tail. This is wedged into the door opening in such a fashion that the walls fit into the notches. Sometimes it is given an attractive form by being flattened near the end and having bands of palm plaited around it. Along the sides, on the other hand, the people content themselves with single strips of raffia stalk as door lining. 342

In the interior a thick post or a number of thinner posts (andẽ́i) *stands at both sides of the door opening (mbẽ́i I) (see Figs. 37 b,* 38). Between these posts are wedged one or two diagonally placed poles, by means of which the piece of bark that serves as a door (evǐ́n e nda, evǐ́n e mbẽ́i = house bark or door bark) is held fast. Sliding doors are more rarely encountered. These run between /72/ the wall and a lath at the top and bottom of the door opening; in the daytime they are pushed to the side and at night pulled in front of the opening. We find door posts even where there are sliding doors, since they primarily serve the purpose of preventing strangers from looking into the hut during the daytime. Most doors made of bark close poorly because they warp. Frequently the "door" consists of nothing /Fig. 36 appears here in the original text/ more than a number of narrow bark pieces that are loosely

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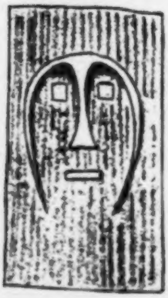

Fig. 36. Door of a Dwelling in Alén (Essáuong Family). Carved out of wood and painted a light gray with clay.

placed next to each other against the opening from the inside, and naturally there are large cracks between them. It goes without saying that any sudden gust of wind will blow them down and that they also fall down by themselves. I myself have often enough been awakened by this unfamiliar clatter, or the cool night air and the stings of the Anopheles mosquitoes swarming in have given me an unpleasant awakening.

Doors made of wood (Fig. 36) are to be found here and
[531] there and are sometimes decorated with simple carved patterns. They are placed or wedged against the door opening from the inside. Frame doors imported by foreign traders and
[139] set on hinges made of bands of palm are not very popular, generally speaking.

Exactly as in the case of the meeting houses, the construction and condition of the dwellings vary greatly. Some
[356] houses are so clean and attractively built that they look like a doll's house just unpacked; others, however, look dilapidated, unclean, and unattractive, and they make such a revolting impression that -- as I often told my Pangwe -- not even a white man's dog would feel at home in it. The majority of the dwellings, of course, are between these two extremes, that is to say, if one takes the average of several villages -- for the houses of a single village are often of just about the same quality, a fact which doubtless stems from their being equally old. There are villages which appear

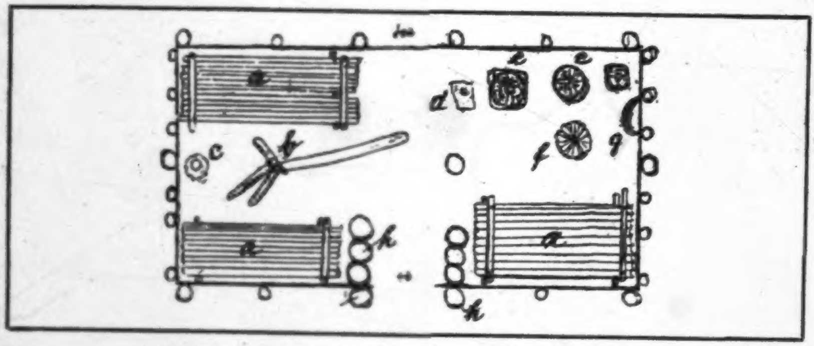

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Fig. 37. Ground Plan of a Pangwe Dwelling.
a, sleeping benches; b, fireplace (kitchen); c, pot with water; d, grindstone; e, baskets; f, bundle of maize cobs; g, hens' nest; h, door posts.

like the toys of a gigantic child that have just been finished by a giant toy dealer and are placed on the clean earth as though on a gigantic table. There are others in which one actually finds not a single house which does not let in the rain in torrents, not a single house whose walls are still standing straight and which does not provide entry for nocturnal reptiles between its walls and the ground. The reader should consider the significance of the name of the village of Ebualebambe ("tumble-down village") which, indeed, as I saw, did full justice to its name. 342 [103]

Whether the houses are carefully built or not, they always look depressed because they are too low in relation to their length, which seems even greater /73/ /Fig. 37 appears here in the original text/ than it actually is because of the way the houses are arranged in rows. One gets the same impression when one goes inside; on the average it is so low that one can stand in it only in a bent position for fear of coming into painful contact with the roof or the household utensils hanging from it. It is rare indeed that one can stand upright on one of the low sleeping benches without bumping his head.

As in the case of the meeting house, the interior of the dwelling (Fig. 37) has a single room which the Pangwe divides into atũm a nkiai and atũm akui, that is to say, into a western "room" (on a lower level) and an eastern "room" (on a higher level) which are to the left and right of the door. Figure 38 gives a view of the interior of a Fang hut. In this illustration one side wall and the right

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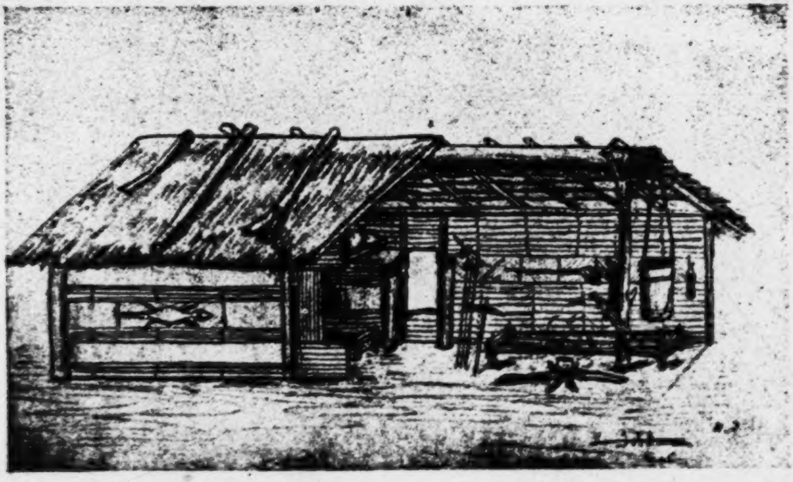

Fig. 38. A Dwelling of the Fang.
The right half of the front wall and one side wall have been removed for a view of the interior.

342 half of the front wall have been removed in order to provide a full view.

The four corners or at least three of them are occupied by
342 sleeping benches (Fig. 37 a) which are constructed exactly like
352 the benches of the meeting houses. The distance between the
353 head and foot rest, however, is only about three quarters body length, so it is necessary to lie on them with one's legs drawn up. The sleeping benches extend to the door posts and thus take up most of the room in the house. On one of the narrow sides and
354 between two sleeping benches is the fireplace (Figure 37 b), that is, a few logs placed together and serving both as a hearth and a stove. Over the fireplace is attached a device for drying and storing food and dishes which is put together in the following manner (Fig. 39). A frame covered with plaited raffia strips is laid over the door posts (a) and two forked sticks driven into the corners. This is the "pot loft," *akắn e mvé* (c); one can usually see a number of pots and a clay water bottle on it. Other things, which even for the Negro cannot be designated as "valuable possessions," /74/ /Fig. 38 appears here in the original text/ are also found there, such as banana bowls, maize spindles, to whose use I shall return later, and so forth. Under the pot loft hangs the drying loft or "groundnut loft," *akắn owǔnǒ* (d). As the name indicates, this loft

342 serves only for the storage of groundnuts and is likewise usually 352 made of plaited raffia strips. Then there is the most important 353 household item for the housewife, the pantry, in the form of a storage box, būbū or būu (e), intended primarily for meat and other delicacies. This box is often very nicely made with raffia pith. In front it usually has a small protruding ledge on which salt, pepper, and spoons may be placed, and thus it serves as a kind of "dumb-waiter"; at the side it has an opening that is closed by means of a sliding door made of pith. The box fills the space between the beds so that it is barely possible to stand there. One or two drying or roasting boards, etăn (f and g), hang under the box, just above the fire. These boards are used for roasting groundnuts and for drying things.

On the opposite wall at the same level a similar frame is put up, over which drying boards can be placed and from whose front edge the women's long baskets (nkū́n I) are hung. There is floor space under this frame, a sleeping bench may be placed there, covered with baskets, grindstones, and other tools, or with the assorted possessions of the head of the household. A person who enters the house for the first time finds himself in the middle of the passage between front and back door, not knowing which way to turn. To make room at all it would be necessary to clear everything out; otherwise a European would find the house uninhabitable. In the north, /75/ especially among the Bulu and in part also among the Ntum, the huts are somewhat more spacious and habitable.

For hanging up baskets, calabashes, satchels, and other objects on the wall, the Pangwe makes use of a natural hook (ekŏ́b), that is, a piece of a tree trunk which is cut out just above and below a branch. The branch is cut off, the remaining stump is cut more or less to a point, and then the whole piece is inserted, in the same position as it was on the tree, between the longitudinal raffia strips on the inner side of the wall. Objects are very readily attached to the wall by means of raffia stalks stuck between the mats, from whose free ends they are suspended.

An important piece of furniture is the round, three-legged stool 531 (kpă III), Figure 40, carved out of wood and decorated all around its edge with ornamental chip carving.

1: Tessmann--35 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

its edge with ornamental chip carving. It is placed on the ground, often in the vicinity of the door posts, and is considered, so to speak, as a place of honor -- for strangers and the paterfamilias -- like our sofa. 342 352 353

As a final household implement the sweeper should be mentioned. It appears in various forms, depending on whether it is used in the dwelling, for the benches of the meeting house, for the meeting house floor, or for the village square. 412 356

For the house a broom evū̃ ǎ[k], Figure 41 a, is used, made of raffia leaves tied together in the shape of a fan. "More elegant" brooms are used by the Jaunde for the benches of the meeting houses. These are made of pieces of liana stalks, Ertela scandens Benth., Leguminosae, called ntŭ́ (b), or of the flowers of the oil palm (c). The pieces of liana stalk are slit so that they form something like a brush; these brooms therefore correspond more or less to our dusters. A third form of broom (Fig. 42) consists of two little wooden boards tied with strips to a handle. /Fig. 39 appears here in the original text./ /76/ It resembles our snow shovels, but it is by no means to be found in every village, and even where it is found it is infrequently used. [824]

In the preceding descriptions the reader will have been struck by the frequency with which the raffia palm is mentioned as construction material. It is indeed true that this palm, called "bamboo" in Negro English, is by far the most important and most valuable plant 137 824

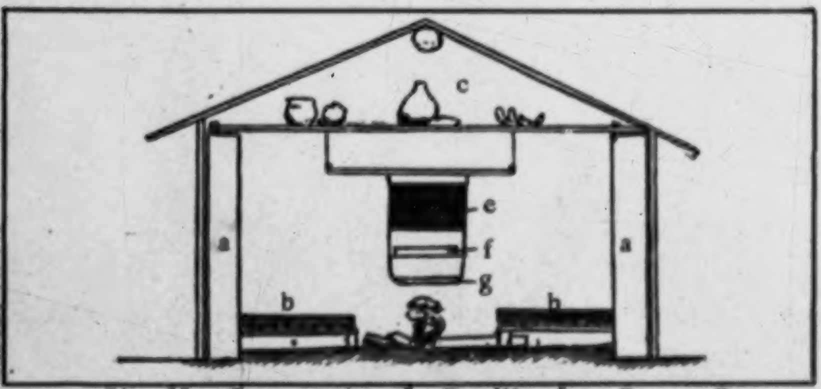

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Fig. 39. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door: a, door posts; b, sleeping benches; c, pot loft; d, loft for drying groundnuts; e, pantry; f and g, roasting boards.

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824 for the Pangwe. Where it is scarce, as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ it is imported from great distances whenever necessary.

In the Campo-Uelle region there are four species of raffia. Of these, *Raffia hookeri* M. (*esa*) is to be found only along the banks of the larger rivers; *Raffia regalis* M. et Wendl. (*andżím*), on the other hand, grows only on hilly terrain and even there very sparsely. The following appears in swamps (1) and may

1. Hence, *zím* = swamp and raffia palm (collective name).

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Fig. 40. Fang Stool.

be designated as the true raffia palm: *Raffia vinifera* P.B. (*nia dźśn* = true, authentic raffia), the common species. Finally, there is a species (*akō̗'dō̗*), recognizable by the fact that its leafstalks are tinged with blue, which is frequently found scattered among the above species. The general name for raffia, *dźś-n*, indicates its importance; it means "the mother of the village," /Fig. 40 appears here in the original text/ *dźa* (*n*, see "Suffixes" /not translated/), because the whole village is made of raffia, and indeed no name would be more fitting considering all that is produced and constructed from it. The following list will give an idea of its multiple uses. 824

I. Foodstuffs

1. Palm cabbage.
2. Pulp.

II. Spices

3. Salt (from the leaves and stalks, together with other plants; see Section 6, p. 133).

III. Oils

4. Hair oil (from the pulp; see Section 7, page 193).

IV. Building Materials

A. Leaf pinnae.

5. Mats (eiȩ̃l) for the roof.

B. Whole leaves.

6. Plaited fences around the cult sites.

C. Whole leafstalks.

7. Molding beams (mfá̧s I).
8. Rafters (ntū̧ǵn I).

D. Halved leafstalks.

9. Sleeping and sitting benches (kū́dū III and enǒń).
10. Longitudinal strips for house walls (ebáȩ̃̃ Nt., ebāǎk F.)

E. Pith.

11. House walls. /77/ /Fig. 41 appears here in the original text./

V. Household Implements

12. Groundnuts baskets (angū̧n), made of pith.
13. Drying boards (etə̧n), made of the bark of leafstalks; the frame, of pith.
14. Drying lofts (akǟń).
15. Bowls for red wood.
16. Combs (made of pieces of stalk bark).
17. Brooms (made of leaves).
18. Corks for powder flasks and for bamboo drinking reeds (pith).
19. Nails, for joining together the pith.
20. Plantain peelers (piece of bark).
21. Ropes for basketwork plates (medullary rays).
22. Needles for taking out sand fleas (bark).
23. Sticks for incising the surface of pottery jugs; furthermore, awls for piercing the nose (bark).

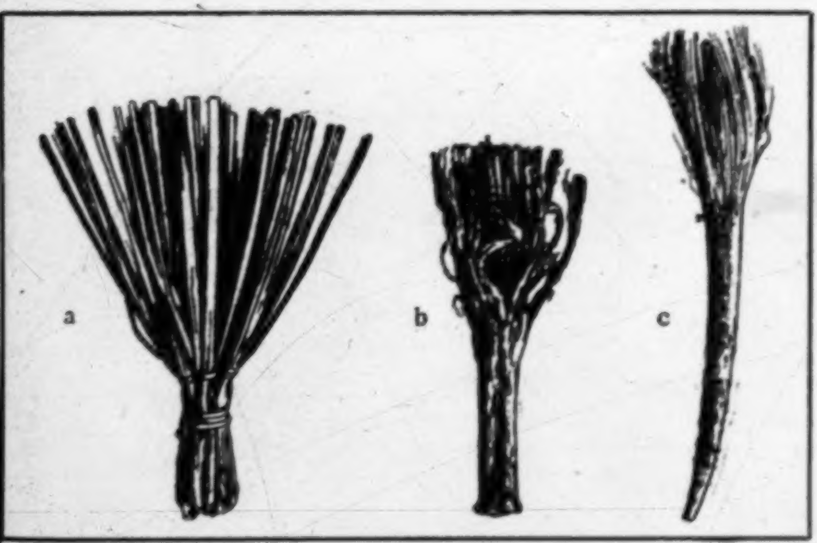

Fig. 41. Sweepers:
a, brooms for dwellings; b and c, dusters for meeting houses.

24. Knife sheathes (pith).
25. Sticks for preparing the clay blast pipe (stalks).
26. Casting molds for founding brass rings (halved stems).
27. Kindling, ekǎ́ba (stalk strips).
28. Ropes (bast).
29. Pipe bowls (made of the fruit kernels); see Section 6, page 164.
30. Needles, sewing needles (pith).
31. Fire fans (pith).

VI. Trapping Implements, Weapons

32. Fish baskets, ayǎ́, ngǒděgo, nsǒn.
33. Fish weirs, olɛ̌m.
34. Noose for spring traps (fiber).
35. Bow trap of the Jaunde for rats (ehā́dę).
36. "Spears" against sorcery.

VII. Musical Instruments

37. Raffia instrument, myǒt (made of the stalks).
38. Guitar, ndǒnga (made of the pith, the bridge of stalk strips).

824 39. Plectrum for the musical bow, *elém* (stalk strips).
40. Strings for the harp (fiber).
41. Sticks for the war drum, *ngómo* (made of pith).
42. Sticks for the signaling drum, *nkŭ* (stalk pieces). /78/
43. Children's zither (halved stalks; plectrum; stalk pieces).

VIII. Toys

44. Children's rattle stick (pith, stalk pieces).
45. Bow and arrows (stalks).
46. Rifle made of pith, newer model (pith).
47. Trigger and upper part of rifles, old model (stalk strips).
48. Pickaxes, knives, tools (pith).
49. Trap for gadflies (pith, stalk pieces).
50. Food stealer (piece of stalk).
51. Memory game, *nkŭk endɛ́lĕ* (pith).
52. Stone game, *akŭn* (stalk pieces).

IX. Clothing, Ornaments

53. Straw hats (pith).
54. Chenille for decorative caps, *edŏbăn* (pith).
55. Women's tailpieces (bast).
56. Strips of bast for sewing materials (bast).
57. Head adornment, *akŭt* (bast).
58. Arm adornment (bast).
59. Neck adornment (bast).
60. Belts (bast).
61. Ropes for stringing heavy beads (fiber).
62. Walking sticks, better ones made of *Raphia hookeri* M. (*esa*).

343 In addition to the meeting and dwelling houses already described, the Pangwe build a number of other huts designed for special purposes, namely, storage houses, houses for strangers, field huts, and houses for the sick.

The storage houses have a variety of forms. Some are merely dwellings from which the furniture has been removed; [177] others are similar to these but have a wooden door, often copied from the European models; still others, like the temporary

343 dwellings, stand with the gabled side facing the village square and look just like them except that they are firm and durable. 536 Storage houses are to be found only in the villages of wealthier chiefs.

344 The houses for strangers (esá bə́d) are built following exactly the same pattern and ground plan as the ordinary dwelling, but they are very hastily constructed; the walls are usually only plaited palm leaves; the door extends to the ground with no threshold; and the sleeping benches are those of the simple kind (kū́dū III), often made only of umbrella tree trunks split lengthwise down the middle and placed on top of two casters of the same wood. They are constructed especially on the occasion of the festival for departed souls when greater numbers of strangers are expected; at the conclusion of the festive period they are pulled down.

342 In the forests or on very isolated plantations, refuge huts are frequently built. These are often no more than mere protective roofs (myǒ e ngī III = gorilla home), while others resemble the simplest temporary meeting houses, that is, huts in which the gabled sides are open and the long walls are either absent or consist only of a few tree trunks (angǒ h e ngī = gorilla crown, that is, the strip which juts out like a comb on the top of the gorilla's skull). /79/

344 744 Special houses are built next to or behind the dwellings or just outside the village for persons with contagious diseases (frambesia, leprosy) (see Fig. 16). Because they are designed for only one person, they are usually smaller than the dwellings; they have the same shape but are carelessly constructed and soon deteriorate because nobody takes the trouble to repair them.

343 Here and there I found stables; in the next section I shall come back to these. /Fig. 42 appears here in the original text./

342 177 Finally, it should be mentioned that in some villages especially those close to the coast, there are houses on piles. These are copied from the European settlements and are almost completely useless for the natives since their construction requires greater care and trouble than that of ordinary houses. Consequently, the houses on piles built by the Pangwe are veritable caricatures of human dwellings.

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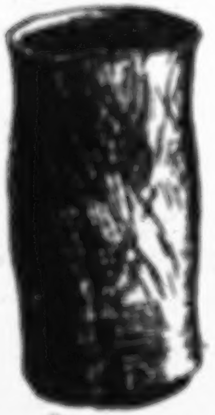

Fig. 43. Resin Lamp, Fang.

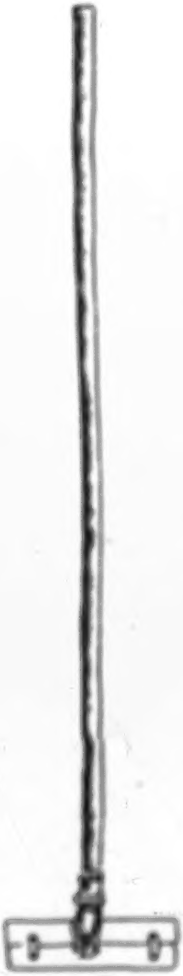

Fig. 42. Dirt Shovel for Cleaning the Meeting House, Ntum.

A few words should be said about lighting. In the houses, 372 which, as we have seen, are windowless and hence quite dark, 354 the hearth fire /Fig. 43 appears here in the original text/ is at the same time a much needed source of light. As the Pangwe relate in their legends, [178] it was Mode-Sama, one of the first human beings, who fetched fire (*ndũán*) from God (Sama); according to other versions, the fire was given to him by God, and since Mode's time the fire has not been extinguished. This useful element is carried from one house to another and, when worst comes to worst, from one village to another. The Pangwe does not need to rekindle his fire, since it burns all day in the meeting house where it serves as a protection against cold, moisture, and sand flies, while in the dwellings it is kept going day and night for cooking and heating purposes. When the women go to the plantations, [192] the logs are so carefully arranged (for this action alone, there are four different expressions!) that they continue to glow; or the youngest daughter may be given the task of guarding the vestal altar. In case the fire should actually go out in one house, fire is obtained from a neighboring house, and it is only in exceptional cases that a smaller village has no fire. In such an emergency fire is sent for from the nearest settlement.

Better lighting than the hearth fire is provided by the torch 373 light with which /80/ /Fig. 44 appears here in the original text/ the village square is illuminated at night when, for instance, dances are held. The flickering of the torches causes the strange and wild movements of the dancers to appear even more fantastic than they really are. The torches are composed of dried stalks [illegible] of the cardamom *Aframomum alboviolaceum* K. Sch. (*adĩgm*; stalk, *kũ'mõ* IV Fang, *kũ'me* IV Ntum), Plate 21 in Section 11 /Vol. 2/, or finely spliced raffia stalk strips (*ekǎ'ba*), which — when they are well dried — burn very brightly but, on the other hand, are rather rapidly consumed.

The finest but an infrequently used source of light at festivi- 373 ties or other events in the village square is the resin lamp (*otu* = 355 resin), Figure 43, a little tub of bark containing the fragrant resin [illegible] of the Anacardiacea *Canarium schweinfurthii* Engl. (1) (*abê* Ntum, 374 *ola* Fang; resin = *otu*).

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1. According to the communication of Doctor Mildbraed who has likewise collected this tree.

362

Fig. 44. Olanga Village (Essángbuak Family), South Cameroons. In the village square there is a "memorial," a peculiarly shaped tree root in which the natives see the figure of a horse.

373 obè Fang; resin = otù).

On longer trips, for instance, if an acquaintance is to be visited or medicinal plants are sought in the forest at night in case of sudden sickness, a piece of wood, waved to and fro, is used instead of the torch which would burn down too quickly. When a strong light is not necessary, the people content themselves with little branches
824 that have been covered with the gleaming white mycelium of a mushroom, thereby providing a bright glow in the dark. /81/
/Fig. 45 appears here in the original text/

For more extensive hunting or rubber expeditions in a larger forest area, occasions when nights are spent in wild country, a burning log is taken along. In former times "kindling wood" was also taken along in case the log should go out. Nowadays
372 the Pangwe are no longer able to produce fire in the old manner
824 by twirling. To be sure, an older chief once showed me how fire was formerly "made"; but although he took endless trouble and two men twirled their arms lame, they were unable to produce a single spark. "Theoretically," however, my good chief

Fig. 45. Canoes on the Nié (Tributary of the Campo), New Cameroons.

312 knew exactly how to produce sparks. "One" takes two sticks of 124 wood from one of the three Tiliaceae, Triumfettia cordifolia Guillet (okūk) (1). Leptonychia tessmannii Engl. (akāk), or Desplatsia dewevrei Burr. (afŏnŏk), and they are dried over the fire for at least a day. One of the sticks is notched in the middle, placed on the ground, and held down with one's feet; the other stick is placed vertically into the notch and twirled. The spark which is "supposed" to be produced is caught with oakum made of the picked fibers of the Dioclea reflexa Hook. f. (kŏndŏŏ´ III) placed around the notch. Thus instructed, after this one failure I requested elsewhere that this theory be put into practice, but most of the natives assumed a stupid expression or laughed outright at my request. /82/ /Fig. 46 appears here in the original text./

1. According to one legend, fire is also supposed to have been brought from the heavens in a Triumfettia stick.

491

Fig. 46. Bridge over the Abéa (Tributary of the Bimfille) near Makonfim (Ojek Family) During the Dry Season, Spanish Guinea.

000 original text. /

361 Usually the village square remains completely bare. Very rarely a tree is left standing or is planted there, and when that is done, it is because the tree is considered to have medicinal value. More frequently one sees scaffoldings on which the raffia palm oil is prepared (see Plate 4). In one case I encountered a memorial which was supposed to represent a horse (Fig. 44); this was a tree root which had been left standing when the area was being cleared because of its curious resemblance to the animal.

364 The cleanliness of village squares varies greatly. There are very dirty ones, littered with sheep and goat manure, remnants of sugar cane, chewed cane, building materials, and so forth in great quantities. Indeed, in some of these village squares the grass has not even been weeded out. On the other hand, there are very neat squares where the villagers sweep all the rubble and refuse behind the houses. The men who look after the meeting house are especially negligent; they frequently let the rubbish heaps (akǒŋ) accumulate until they clutter up the entrance.

491

Fig. 47. Bridge over the Bimfille near Ebiáneamajong (Esifuong Family) During the Rainy Season.

The privy (edik), as Figure 16 shows, is in the plantain grove not very far from the houses. Frequently it is so close that the stench, especially when the wind is unfavorable, may become unbearable. The privy consists of a fairly deep pit with one or two pairs of forked sticks planted in the center; on top of these is placed a layer of tree trunks in such a manner that the middle ones extend from the edge of the pit only as far as the sticks and lie with their free ends in the forks. Thus, a rectangular opening is left uncovered, and /53/ loam is thrown around this over the whole thing. Sometimes the loam covering is not put over it. Instead of toilet paper, dried corn husks are used. 514 364

It is worthy of note that the Pangwe also cultivate ornamental plants. These are placed in the village square, along the paths behind or to the side of the houses, or, in case the village consists of only a single row of houses, they are planted where the opposite row of houses would ordinarily stand. Generally the ornamental plants are the following: an attractive Amaranthacea, Gomphrena globosa L. (ngi'a IV), which also grows in America and may have been imported from there; and the so-called fever 361 277

351 247 grass, Andropogon schoenanthus L. (olimentå'ngan = olím (Ocimum) of the Whites), a plant which has likewise been imported.

487 The roads are often scarcely visible paths which are first trodden by hunters and used by elephants and later become wider through increased traffic. Naturally, however, one must always proceed along them in single file. Wherever small brooks happen to flow in the direction of travel, they are used as trails.

491 499 For the crossing of larger bodies of water, a few stems of the umbrella tree are tied together to form a raft or dugouts (bá, plural, mé; Fig. 45), otherwise employed for fishing purposes, are used. Bridges (ndzéi I) are built only in rare cases, primarily in situations where the plantations and the village are situated on opposite banks of a river, thus necessitating regular and rapid passage between them. These bridges consist /84/ (Fig. 46 and 47) of several piers, each made up of two tree trunks planted into the ground in the form of a St. Andrew's cross and firmly tied together. One or more transverse beams are then placed over these piers. To serve as a railing, either ropes are tied to the upper ends of the piers, or sticks split lengthwise down the middle are fastened to them. When a bridge beam decays, a new one is placed on top of it, but no one thinks of restoring the framework which cannot support the greater weight, and for this reason the bridge soon collapses as it gets older.

[177] More recently bridges have been built according to the European model (bálá III), consisting of two rows of supporting piles and transverse beams over which logs are placed very close together, like our corduroy roads. These bridges are even more dangerous to life and limb than the older form, since supporting posts often collapse, the bridge frequently lists to one side, and it is possible to have a bad fall on the slippery log ends. /85/

Section 5

000

Economic Activities

First Part. Agriculture. General matters; tools, preparation of the soil, division of labor. The

000 most important food plants and their significance. The groundnut (varieties, cultivation, pests, medicines, uses), maize. Ngon (description, varieties, importance, origin of the name, cultivation, harvest, drying, pests, medicines, uses). Yams, cassava, sugar cane, taro, and macabo (description, varieties, cultivation, uses). Plantain and banana. Additional cultivated plants.

Second Part. Livestock. Dogs, appearance, importance for the Pangwe, their names; goat and sheep, castration of the goats (manner of castration, purpose); the hen and its importance; the duck; other tame domestic animals.

Third Part. Fishing. Abundance of fish, survey of the fish world of the Pangwe region, the catching of fish (general matters, chief seasons), method: driving the fish, angling, fish poison, scaffolding weir, basket weirs, basket trap, catch baskets, fish channels, fishing nets.

Fourth Part. Trapping. Pitfalls, spring traps, spring plates, spear trap, snares, draw traps, francolin trap, bow traps, alarm trap.

Fifth Part. Hunting. General matters, drives with baskets and nets, division of the meat, accidents, individual hunting expeditions with rifle and crossbow. Crossbow (origin, description, arrows).

I. Agriculture

483 The economic activities of the Pangwe are agriculture, catching fish, and trapping; in comparison with these, hunting and stock keeping play a subordinate role.

195 The curious locutions of the Pangwe language, such as a bê
241 bidžį = to plant "food," that is, to plant, and a nyŏn bidžį = to take "food," that is, to harvest, seem to indicate that the cultural level of the farmer followed that of the primitive collector. That is to say, the expression suggests that the conscious cultivation of plants developed from the observation and exploitation of edible leaves, fruit, and the like found wild in nature. The Pangwe have wholly risen above the latter stage, and they revert to it only occasionally in periods of distress.

241 Their agriculture is hoe culture, that is, the soil is loosened by means of the hoe and digging stick. The hoe (ebă'k, Ntum; ebăk, Fang), Figure 48, consists of a piece of iron tied to a wooden handle bent in the form of a hook; the digging stick (eviĕ'n Ntum, Fang; tŏń, Jaunde) is a wooden stick with the end shaped like an incisor. The hoe is used by the women, the digging stick by the men /86/. Other agricultural implements are the ax (oxú'n), Figure 49, and the bush knife (fą-tĭi IV), Fig. 50. The latter, which today has been almost completely replaced
[77] by the European cutlass, nkpwę̃dă' I, is used to dig tubers, such as yams, and to level the soil. For the latter purpose I also observed the use of wooden spades attached to a handle.

Tillage begins with the clearing of the ground (a lī tsį). First, the lianas, undergrowth, and thinner trees are cut down with the cutlass. In this way some elbow room is created, and the larger trees can be felled with an ax. /Fig. 48 appears here in the original text./ Ordinarily a whole group of trees is tackled at one time in the following manner. The lianas are severed first so that they can no longer hold up the trees. The majority of the thinner tree trunks are merely notched, and then only one fairly massive tree is cut down. This tree when it falls brings down virtually the entire group of trees, together with its network of lianas. As a result, very little remains to be done. The very large trees are usually left standing to provide shade. They are removed, by setting fire to the roots, only if it is absolutely necessary to do so. Without the help of fire, it would require a number of days to cut down such a giant tree, and the Pangwe rarely have time for this in the brief dry

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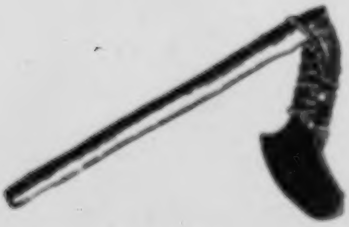

Fig. 48. Hoe.

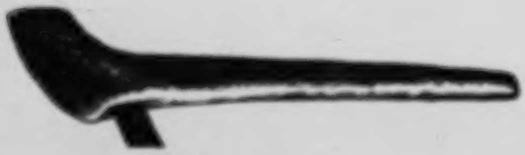

Fig. 49. Ax.

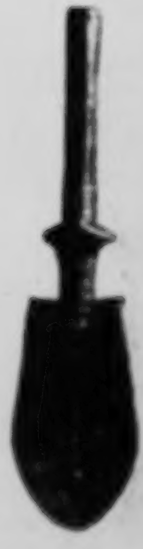

Fig. 50. Bush Knife.

/87/

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291
301

Fig. 51. Fang Women Bringing Firewood from the Plantations.

season. /Fig. 49 appears here in the original text. / Once the 241
bush is entirely cleared (with the exception of the shade trees), a few days are allowed to elapse until the sun has dried the wood. Then fire is set to it, and the farm is "burned," a dīge dí. At the end of the dry season one can see columns of rising smoke throughout the land, and on walking expeditions one often has the dubious pleasure of having to pass such a burning farm. A great number of birds of prey, especially the parasite kite, circle around the new farm, heedless of the heat, in order to catch every crawling thing that flees from the fire. As soon as the rainy season comes, the clearing of the farm comes to an end, and now "the food is laid." The men move the charred and unburned remains of the trees /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ /87/ to one side or heap them up on the farm 241
itself as boundary markers (see Plate 7). The women remove the 462
smaller branches, and it is the women who from this time on dominate the picture, sowing or planting the vegetables, pulling out the weeds which during the rainy season soon become rank, and taking in the harvest. All these, incidentally, are lighter

241 462 tasks, and from this division of labor it is apparent — this will be pursued further later on — that the work which requires the greater effort is allotted to the men, while the easier work is left to the women. Since by the very nature of the matter the harder work lasts for a shorter period of time, the impression easily arises that the women have to perform considerably more work than the men, but this is not the case, and it is probable that the distribution of work is not much different from that in Germany, say. It is just that the type of work is different. To be sure, [[illegible]] upon seeing the large, fully packed baskets which the women bring in daily from the fields (Fig. 51), the uninitiated observer might easily get such an erroneous impression, but the carrying of such disproportionately heavy burdens, which makes the women's bodies so deformed, is partly their own fault. One is reminded of the Low German proverb: "De Fule drägt sich doht un de Flitige löpt sich doht /the lazy one carries himself to death, and the industrious one runs himself to death/. The woman likes to [464] rest in the afternoon, and many of them even have quite an aversion for work. Incidentally, this is a further reason for the [731] frequent periods of food shortage (mentioned in the third section /not translated/), which at times develop into real famines. /88/

241 The most important staple food plants of the Pangwe are the following seven:

Southern Region (Fang)	Northern Region (Jaunde)
1. Cassava (manioc)	1. Cassava (manioc)
2. Plantain	2. Groundnut
3. Groundnut	3. Plantain
4. Ngon	4. Maize
5. Maize	5. Ngon
6. Taro	6. Taro
7. Yams	7. Yams

It should be understood that the plants are listed here in the order of their importance as food plants, in other words, as "food" in the household, and not according to the extent of field work involved in their cultivation which would completely reverse the

24| order. Sugar cane, important only as a luxury or refreshment item and not as a staple food, would be added to such a list, while the plantain would be withdrawn completely because it thrives without any care and does not require intensive cultivation. Similarly, the cassava would not occupy a significant place in such a list since, even though it requires a certain amount of cultivation, it nevertheless continues to spread as a durable shrub and is not bound to definite seasons with respect to its growth and conditions for cultivation. The groundnut and ngon would now be most important plants. If one distinguishes field agriculture and gardening as different types of cultivation and uses area of cultivation as a yardstick for each of them, one gets the following order of plants.

Field Agriculture

1. Groundnut	Secondary plant, maize
2. Ngon	Secondary plant, yams
3. Cassava	Secondary plant, sugar cane as a luxury item.

Gardening

4. Taro	Secondary plant, macabo
5. Plantain	Secondary plant, banana as fruit

By this list I do not mean to imply that ngon must always be planted with yams, or cassava with sugar cane. There are farms which grow yams exclusively, and others which grow sugar cane exclusively. The list is merely intended to indicate that frequently the cultivation of these secondary plants is linked with that of the most important principal plants, and that above all the conditions of cultivation of he two are the same or at least similar. Thus, I can confine myself, for more precise description, to the cultivation of the five chief plants of the above list. /89/

The Groundnut, Arachis hypogaea L.

(Plate 6)

244 The groundnut (owúnǒ, derived from the stem a wŭno = to set, to plant) occupies the third – with the Jaunde the second – rank in the order of the most important food plants. In the Fang region five different varieties are distinguished, of which one, mǒne owŭnǒ, has again been given up because of its small fruit. Of the remaining four, the following are found together in one and the same field with equal frequency: the upright, more hairy asǒmena, which according to Sadebeck (1) is Arachis asiatica Lour. (it is illustrated by Plate 6), and the low-growing Arachis africana Lour. or var. glabrata D.C. (ebăn, Ntum; ekăb or engŭs, Fang. The variety eyǒlo (Fang) or evŭǒle (Ntum), distinguished by fruit that is thicker and not quite so long, and the variety ezǒna are likewise sometimes found in the same field.

244 311 Anyone who travels in the land of the Pangwe will immediately recognize how important a role the groundnut has in the agricultural economy of the natives. The only farms that may delight the eye of a European are the groundnut farms. Walking through the cassava and sugar cane plantations, one is afforded no unobstructed over-all view of them, and on the ngon farms one constantly has to climb over tree trunks that have been left lying around. After passing through these or even through a stretch of dense forest or bush and then coming upon a groundnut plantation, one draws a breath of relief. The wanderer will see the plantation lying before him, framed by the darkness of the forest interspersed with the brighter green of the young maize which is usually planted, along with the groundnut, as a border

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[113] 1. R. Sadebeck, Die Kulturgewächse der deutschen Kolonien und ihre Erzeugnisse /The Cultivated Plants of the German Colonies and their Products/ (Jena, 1899), p. 230.

244 311 against the forest and in the middle along the boundaries of the individual plots (Plate 7). The groundnut plantation with its cleanness and unobstructed view will vividly remind the visitor of European vegetable fields; one groundnut plant next to the other shoots forth its many quadripartite leaves, irrigated by the ample moisture of the tropical rain, and here and there one can see the yellow blossoms shining through the leaves.

244 The planting and harvesting seasons of the groundnut are as follows.

First sowing: planted in September and the beginning of October; harvested towards the end of December.

Second sowing: planted in March and April; harvested in July and August.

The groundnut is thus planted before the rainy season and harvested during the following dry seasons.

244 476 The clearing and burning of farms, accordingly, is undertaken jointly by the men of the village in February, March, and again in July and August. /90/ The field is divided among the men, and they proceed to clear the larger tree trunks and branches out of the way, while the women clean up the farm and then place in the ground the seeds or the nuts which have already sprouted. They do this by digging a small hole with a hoe, throwing the seeds or, as the case may be, the nuts into it, and then pressing the soil down with their feet. The harvest begins when the leaves, with the exception of the topmost ones, are fairly well dried. The soil is loosened, and the women pick out the nuts and put them in plate-shaped baskets (dzáŋ).

244 Three years must elapse before groundnuts can again be grown in the same soil. The women have also noticed that the groundnut — which requires a certain amount of calcium in the soil — does not thrive everywhere, and hence they are in the habit of saying: "Let us not plant groundnuts again in this vicinity, for they do not thrive here." Like the majority of cultivated plants in the tropics, groundnuts draw practically no pests. They are harmed most of all by the following animals which eat their leaves: by the guib, *Tragelaphus knutsoni* Lemberg (nkǒk); and the dwarf goat, *Neotragus batesi* Winton (odzǎŋ). Furthermore,

244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒtǒ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It 244 789 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing [536 824] the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red wood, ba-yǎ′; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-yá′. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the [823] desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the [833] medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

[841 834] 1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (ayŏe)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

Another
244 fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark
759 of the Simarubacea Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏk; 2) bark
[529] bark of the Anacardiacea Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofŏe); 3) elephant mature; 4) sand from the Campo or the Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power; the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains
[824] of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayăn) are planted between the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Draw-
244 ings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with
[195] them. This is called euphemistically: bi kĭ kăbád, "we dissect a goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abundance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe,
[262] especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The
[267] nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed loose on the groundnut loft, akăn owŭnd.

433 As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe
435 seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has
244 been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate" (2)

[illegible] 2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

244

Fig. 52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Maize near Bibai (Esseng Family). Southern Cameroons.

432 433 244 of groundnuts rises to ten spears (equal to 70 pfennigs) while at other times only five spears (equal to 35 pfennigs) are given for it. In the Jaunde region, it is true, a plate always costs 70 pfennigs (equal to 100 Jaunde spears). The groundnut is eaten simply as soup or compote. /92/ /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text./ The oil content of the nuts is not utilised to
302 any great extent, but the oil released by cooking is rubbed on the skin in order not to waste it. Finally we might mention the
524 riddle:

ongɔ̀n o nga bi'i a ts e
(A) bird, it lives give birth to behind the house of the

bonɛ̃ akí avɔ́k a bɔ̀le bɔ́n avúm
mothers: egg one; there creep out young ones ten.

Answer: owɔ́no a groundnut.

243 Maize, Zea mays L. (fig IV), as we have said, is almost always grown with the groundnut (Fig. 52), usually as a means of marking off the individual plots and as a border against the bush all around the plantation. Farms that grow maize

243 exclusively are comparatively rare. Just like the groundnut, maize is planted in the beginning of October and matures in December. Then it is again planted in March and matures between the middle of May and July. Guess a riddle! = kăndăn.

544 I guess = kandăn.
ma yĕn bŏnĕnga, bŏ mbe ekŏ-ne, bŏnĕnga bete;
I see women, they were on a journey, women meant;

mabum a mabum
bellies — bellies.

I see women who came on a journey (that is, who formerly were not here), and they are all pregnant (the ears in the husks).

Answer: fĕn = maize. /93/

244 The Ngon, Cucumeropsis edulis Cogn. (ngŏn IV, Jaunde; ngŏn IV Fang)

(Plate 8)

The ngon is one of the cucurbitaceous plants and has pentagonal leaves (more rarely the leaves have five lobules) with finely serrated edges. The leaves are attached to the nearly round stalk at intervals where, in addition to an occasional offshoot, usually another shoot, one or two male panicles, and occasionally a single female blossom are found. A piece of such a stalk is illustrated by Plate 8. The blossoms, jokingly called asĭne kŏ, "turtle's feet," by the Fang, are not very large and have lemon yellow petals which are turned back. The female blossoms (d and e) are somewhat variable in size and bear a hypogeneous ovary; their margin and pistil are green. As for the male blossoms (b-c), on the other hand, the stamens are yellow on top. The fruit is large, longish, and egg-shaped.

In the Fang region three varieties of ngon are distinguished. These varieties are recognizable, however, only by their fruits

244 (Drawings f-h). The variety osa'bome (f) has the largest fruit; it is about 15 centimeters long, a bright yellowish-green with vague, speckled markings, and slightly narrowed toward the middle. In the case of the second variety (g), nia ngon (the real ngon) or nfifine (the dark ngon), the fruit, in contrast to that of the first kind, is usually oviform, twelve centimeters long, and dark green with streaks or strips of a light green color; sometimes the fruit is spotted. This variety appears to be the most common. Finally, mone ngon, the small ngon (h), is considerably smaller, measuring only nine to ten centimeters, rarely more, and it is brighter. Here the speckled marking, which we have already observed in osa'bome, is so blurred that one can speak of bright green specks on a somewhat darker background. As regards the seeds, I counted 190-200 in the case of osa'bome, 224 in the case of nfimne, and only 80 in the case of mone ngon. The seeds are pear-shaped (e) and white, and only the inside is eaten. Frequent crossings appear among the fruit although on one and the same plant fruit of the same variety is usually found, and hence it is possible to speak of genuine species, just as in the case of apples and pears.

244 262 Among the seven chief food plants, ngon occupies fourth place. Only among the Jaunde does it take fifth place, while maize has moved to fourth. I cannot determine whether it was only the drier climate of Jaunde country that caused maize which thrives in a dry climate to be preferred to ngon which grows more successfully in the rainy southern and western Pangwe region. In any case, ngon is of such importance for the huge Pangwe region and far beyond it that one would think considerable space would be devoted to it in technical books about tropical cultivated plants /94/. As it happens, however, the plant is not mentioned by Sadebeck, Fesca, or anywhere else.

244 TD Concerning the origin of the name, the Fang tell the following little story. At first the name ngon was quite unknown; the plant was simply called by the general name ekiluga (from a kit, "to crack," because the seeds are opened by being cracked, and this is a general expression for all fruits that are opened by cracking and have an edible interior, for instance, endok = Irvingia, etc.). Furthermore, ngon was not yet cultivated as it

244 773 is today; instead, women gathered its fruit in the bush. Once upon a time, there was a man who had no sister he could sell to obtain a wife for himself, nor did he have any other person who could help him to get married. He hit upon the idea of starting a huge ngon farm, and when the ngon was ripe many people came and bought the kernels. In this way he finally earned so much money that he had the purchase price for a girl. When other people, who likewise had no wives, heard about this, they began to imitate him and also married through the aid of the plant. Hence, it is said: "Oh, I see this plant like a girl (ngó'n), and therefore it shall be called ngón also, for if the man had had no ngon (ngón), he would not have been able to marry a girl [244 219] (ngó'n)." It should be noted that the two words differ in pitch; the word for the plant has falling pitch in Fang (ngôn), rising pitch in Jaunde (ngǒn), whereas the word for girl has only high pitch (ngó'n). A narrative in the creation story is very similar.

244 241 Ngon is planted only once a year since its cultivation requires the period from April to December. In April, frequently long before, the bush is cut and burned. The ground, however, is not cleared, and everything is left lying just as it fell; at most the largest brushwood is removed from the connecting paths. Walking through a farm, especially along the plantation paths, is therefore quite a gymnastic feat. A ngon farm is often cleared [476 602] communally by the inhabitants of two neighboring villages who belong to the same kin group. To the uninitiated, however, the boundaries are not discernible. They are indicated by trees that have been left standing or have fallen over and more rarely by lianas tied to the branches of tree trunks lying on the ground. It is astonishing that no boundary disputes arise.

244 462 In April, once the farm area has been burned over, the women go into the fields, and with their universal tool, the hoe, they plant the ngon seeds in the ground. The seeds must first have been soaked in water for a day, and two or three of them are planted in the same hole. Because of the tree trunks and the brush lying about, planting is hard work, and for this reason the men usually assist at the task, at least on the first day, equipped with /96/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ hoes and digging

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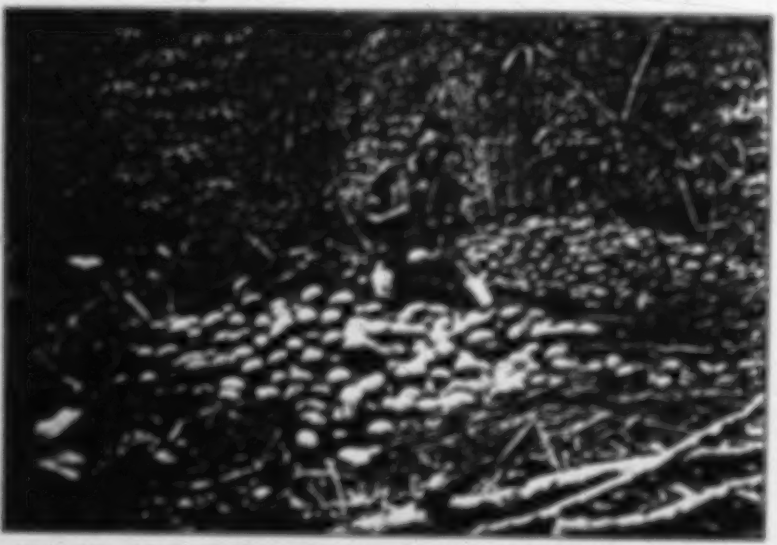

Fig. 53. Woman from Bifhei (Esseng Family) Cracking Ngon in a Cassava Field.

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sticks. During the planting of groundnuts, on the other hand, "no handsome young man, in fact, no one who by virtue of strength, beauty, and influence is of any account," helps; the only assistance given is provided now and then by a man, ugly or old, who wants to make himself popular with his wife, "so she will not eventually run away and live with somebody else." Once planting is finished, ngon is left to itself and proceeds to climb up the tree trunks and branches. By the middle of May it is already knee high. In June or July the field is weeded once, and later the ngon itself, rising above all else, chokes out the weeds; only some of the larger plants shoot up in spite of it and are occasionally pulled out. In September we already find some of the fruit fully ripened, and at the start of the dry season, in November and December, harvesting can be started. By that time, the leaves and stalks are almost completely dry, and the fruit hangs from the dry stalks in the branches of the trees which served the plant as a prop and are now leafless.

At harvest time an area in the plantation is cleared and carefully covered with leaves. Then the fruit is picked -- a job

244 which is completed in three days in the case of medium-sized plantations -- and heaped up in this area around which a fence of oil palm leaves has been constructed. The fruit is beaten with a
253 stick to open it (Fig. 53), the contents are left in, and for /96/ protection against field mice and rain, it is covered with cardamom leaves. This job is completed in one day. Then the fruit must lie for four days. After this period the seeds are taken out of the fruit, placed in ordinary baskets lined with banana leaves, and left standing in the house for a day. Then they are washed in a river in order to remove the fruit slime clinging to them which has begun to ferment. This somewhat complicated preparation is concluded by the drying process. To this end the seeds, with loam added, are thoroughly kneaded by hand and then spread out in the village square. The reason for kneading them in loam is not clear. Some say -- and this seems to be the most probable explanation -- that the ngon becomes "stronger" by this process, since of course the dark color of the loam causes the sun to have a stronger effect on the seed. Others, especially Jaunde women, give the explanation that otherwise, that is, if the seeds were not mixed with loam, coma or dizziness comes through the eyes when the seeds are cracked open. I am unable to determine whether this is merely a superstition or is based on correct observation. At any rate, the seeds must dry in the sun on the village square for two days or, when bad weather intervenes, for a correspondingly longer period of time. A traveler walking through the villages after the ngon harvest will find quantities of white seeds covered with loam spread out in front of many houses. Children and women guard the treasure from meddlesome dogs and hens and make indignant threats at any trespasser on their harvest. Especially energetic women bombard the intruding animals with stones, small pieces of wood, or other missiles, until finally the anxious husband emerges from the meeting house and by means of a stick or a fly swatter drives away the disturbers of the peace to a respectful distance, where they come to the realization that there are other and better places and pounce upon the nearest, less carefully guarded pile. In my travels I have always enjoyed this time of year especially, since at these times there was at least some life in the village square which is otherwise so quiet. Furthermore, when a black rain cloud indicates the approach of a tornado, the whole community comes to life.

252 Everybody rushes to gather up the seeds; even hobbling old men and little naked children eagerly take part. Great care is taken, however, to get none of the dust which covers the village square in great quantities, no matter how much sweeping is done. Ordinarily, however, the seeds are gathered very quietly and slowly in the late afternoon, all the more slowly since the loam of which I have already spoken is carefully removed from the seeds. The fear of surprise downpours, incidentally, has produced all kinds of preventive medicines which I shall describe in another place (Section 14). /97/

244 136 Ngon suffer from pests more than the groundnut. Among these are beetles and caterpillars, but above all a species of bug which feeds on the leaves and a number of mammals which feed on the fruit. Among these mammals should be mentioned especially the red-tailed monkey, Cercopithecus buccalis Leconte (okŏk), and, wherever it occurs, the baboon, Maimon planirostris Elliot (esi´ge); furthermore, from the family of squirrels there are Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu (mvŏk) and Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte (osŏ'n); among the mice, the worst pest is Dendromys messorius Thomas (njaa); and there are also other species, such as Mus pusillulus Ptrs. (okŏb). In places elephants and buffaloes, which likewise eat the fruit, create a great deal of destruction. The guib (nkŏ'k) eats the leaves. Fruit 244 789 rot (ntūi´ ngŏn, that is "diarrhea of the ngon"), the result of an overabundant rainfall, likewise reduces the harvest, at times to a considerable extent. Against all these enemies there is not much to be done since they do not pay much attention to preventive medicines; nonetheless, Pangwe women believe that they can influence the seeds and the young plants by all kinds of means, as in the case of the groundnut. One such means, ba-aya, has already been described in connection with the groundnut. A second method consists of sprinkling the seeds themselves in the bush plate where they are kept for sowing with red wood that has been ground to a powder (red wood as a symbol of growth, joy, and reproduction). 244 789 824 Another procedure to encourage the growth of the ngon plants and to make them produce an abundance of fruit is called emiĕ ndŏb, that is, squirting of (the medicine in the) banana leaf vessel. For this purpose a vessel made of banana leaves is buried in the middle of the farm or set up there, and the following things are put into it.

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1. Fruit of *Alchornea cordifolia* Muell. Arg. (*abuī*), because of the quantity of its fruit; hence also its name *abuī* from *abuī*, "much" (compare *a bue*, "break into pieces," for then there are many pieces!).

2. Herb of the Amaranthaceae *Aerua lanata* (L.) Juss. (*angō'ngō'ne* III, *angō'ngō'ne* = assimilated, *angō'ngōno*), because of its abundant inflorescence.

3. Fruit of the *Pseudospondias microcarpa* (Rich.) Engl. (*ogé*), because of its many fruits (cf. groundnut medicines).

4. Fruit of the Euphorbiacea *Staphysora dusení* Pax. (*owũwũmu* II and III), because of its many flowers; hence the name is derived from *a wũmu*, "to put forth," the name being formed by reduplication.

5. Pulverized leaves of the melegueta pepper, *Aframomum melegueta* K. Schum. (*andón*), likewise because of the luxuriant growth of the plant. /98/

All these items are stirred together in water inside the vessel and are then squirted onto the young ngon plants by means of a piece of stalk of the *Cissus* (*pfũõk* IV), so that the ngon may "grow as luxuriantly as the Cissus shoot."

Depending upon the region, the various elements and admixtures of the medicine differ; frequently some of them are used by themselves. For instance, *Staphysora* mixed with charcoal is scattered on the plants. All the components of the medicine listed above, however, are chosen because they can transfer their power to the ngon plants.

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The economic importance of ngon is indicated by the fact that among the Ntum and Fang the women who planted the ngon are forbidden to have sexual intercourse for three months. The significance of this disproportionately long period of fast, if I may call it such, may be measured by the fact that in the important women's cult Mekang, for instance, the initiates are forced to practice only ten days' sexual abstinence, and in the most important men's cult, the

244 lso of the Jaunde, sexual abstinence effectively lasts only three
134 months. The Fang say that the ngon would not grow if the prohibition were broken, and since with them the belly counts for more than love, this prohibition is generally observed.

248 Only the softer interior of the ngon kernel can be eaten. The
235 kernels must therefore be cracked open, and this is done by means of a little stick from the tree Microdesmis puberula Hook. f.,
[54] Euphorbiaceae (obimyǒ́n), with which they lightly strike the seed after placing it on end. Old and young, men and women, participate in this task which is carried out inside and in front of the dwelling house, as well as in the meeting house. It is an activity characterized by a peculiar clicking noise not easily forgotten once one has heard it. In spite of its importance in the household, the ngon is not prepared in a great variety of ways; like the groundnut, it is eaten only in the form of a soup or it is pulverized and boiled in a leaf bundle.

504 In conclusion, patient reader, kǐndǎn (guess a riddle!); kǐndǎó (I guess):

akǒn	afǫ́,	e	mane	okǔ́na	ngūá,
spear	one,	he	makes ready	herd-	swine.

Answer:

okǒk	ofǫ́,	e	mane	dǐad	e	ngǫn
beater	one,	he	makes ready	bush plate	(with)	ngon.

244 Yams, as a secondary crop with ngon, are of two principal kinds; the three-leaved yams, Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andéã); and the common yams, Dioscorea minutiflora Engl. (emvǔ̃). /99/ Each has four species. In addition, the Pangwe differentiate two more kinds which, however, perhaps belong to Dioscorea minutiflora or are close to it; bǐǫ́ III Ntum, dnǫ̌ (plural, bǐǒ́) Fang; and ebǫ́zǫǫ. In the Jaunde region there is furthermore the Jaunde yam with large tubers, ekǫ́da Jaunde. Finally, the air tuber yam, Dioscorea sativa L. (alǒ́k), is also cultivated, but only in very small quantities. As we said above, the conditions for the growth of the yam resemble those of the ngon; it also climbs up the brush and trees left lying about,

249 and for that reason yams, especially the air tuber yam, are frequently planted with ngon. In general, the only edible part of the yam is the rhizome, and in the case of the air tuber yams, only the air tubers which all fall off at the same time when they are ripe. This has given rise to a symbolic custom practiced when the children eat yams. [778] For instance, when the three sons of one mother eat yams, the first nudges the second, and the latter nudges the third, as a sign that they wish to die after one another, as is natural, and not all on the same day, like the air tubers.

Considerably less can be said of the third group than of the first and second groups. The chief plant belonging to it is cassava or manioc, Manihot utilissima Pohl (mbiṅ I). The times for /Fig. 54 appears here in the original text/ the cultivation of cassava are as follows:

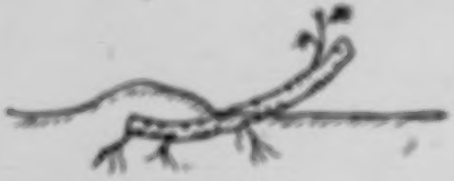

Fig. 54. Cassava Shoot.

[221] vāg̃n esěb - long dry season (December to February), felling the trees on the farm;

kógō esěb - short rainy season (March to May), planting the shoots;

osǹn - the rainy half of the year.

In the following esěb, in other words, from January of the following year on, that is, seven months after transplanting, harvesting may begin, and it may extend over an arbitrary period of time since the plant is a perennial.

[789] There are no medicines for the growth of cassava as there are for the groundnut and ngon. The prayer of the Pangwe -- an ancient one in new guise -- would be: "Dear God, let the groundnut and ngon flourish, cassava grows by itself!" Cassava has comparatively few enemies; only goats and sheep like to eat the leaves. There is a species of grasshopper (mbāasǹn III) which descends in

244 great numbers on the leaves of all cultivated plants, especially cassava and sugar cane. There are seven varieties of cassava, but it would take us too far afield to enumerate them here. As Figure 54 indicates, cassava is planted by heaping a little soil over the shoot. /100/

244 Similarly, sugar cane, Saccharum officinarum L. (nkɔ́k I), is "planted" during the rainy season. Its shoots are taken from the upper part of the stalk, called the "arrow" (Pangwe: ndzǝ́), but it requires a longer period of time to ripen for it is not harvested until after the second subsequent rainy season, in other words, after thirteen months. Cassava and sugar cane are frequently found together in a planted area, often with cultivated plantains also interspersed among them.

Riddles

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1. ofǝ́e e ne m' oko, be a wɔ́ŋ
(A) water, it is to me there, not (to) flow.
--The sap in the sugar cane.

2. bengǝ́-ɔ̃da (1) be ne m' oko, vǝ medzǝ́be
wives-father's they are to me there, merely (with) dancing caps.

1. Archaic form; nowadays the usual form is beyǝ́.

medzǝ́
dancing caps.
--melǝ́n me nkɔ́k = blossoms of the sugar cane.

3. ma vǝ́ǝ okǝ́-a ngǝ́k, o be tǝ́ne
I throw-to a little stone from the rubble, it goes hitting
nga ndǝ́ǝ-bǝ́dǝ abǝ́ǝ
woman, Ndongbodo, (at the) knee.

The solution to this last riddle will be apparent from the following drawing (Fig. 55). Ndongbodo is a jocular name for sugar cane and alludes to the curvature of its stem; ndǝ́ǝ, ndǝ́ǝb originally meant

224 "star," "sun," and was later carried over for people and used as a /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ personal name, and ké = bent; we would perhaps say: "Your Excellency Von Bent."

246 I now turn to the second part of the cultivated plants, those that are cultivated in gardens, that is, in small operations and for the most part behind or close to the dwelling. To be sure, the difference between field and garden cultivation is not everywhere sharply defined. For instance, the garden plant taro is often planted at a distance from the village in fields, and plantains are frequently grown on cassava farms and other farms.

Taro, Colocasia antiquorum Schott (atú), and Macabo, Xanthosoma violaceum Schott (ekấbe)

The taro or Colocasia is -- as the Latin name indicates -- a cultivated plant of some antiquity even for the Pangwe; hence they have no ready explanation for the name atú. The macabo, [171] on the other hand, which stems from /101/ America, has only recently been introduced and, according to the natives, was

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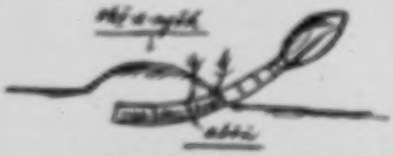

Fig. 55. Sugar Cane Shoot.

taken over by the coastal peoples about thirty years ago (1);

[105]

hence its name ekấbe from a kấb-an, "to hand over, to divide, to take possession of." Both plants belong to the Araceae family. Taro is distinguished from macabo by the fact that its leaves are

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1. As soon as one has become familiar with the Negroes' ability to estimate time, one becomes very cautious with respect to the preciseness of historical dates.

only slightly indented near the bottom and the stalk of the leaf is articulated down by the flat part, while the macabo has true arrow-shaped leaves so that the indentation extends down to the stalk. Furthermore, macabo leaves have a slight sheen on the surface, while taro leaves are dull and their veins have an almost bluish tinge. Taro has yellow blossoms; macabo has white, green, and rose tinted ones; both blossom in the rainy seasons.

Strangely enough, Europeans in the Cameroons tend to prefer macabo to taro; the former is their substitute for the potato in Africa, although the latter, if merely steamed, doubtless has the better taste. At the same time the Pangwe have little love for 56 macabo and have retained taro, their traditional cultivated plant. The explanation for this may be the fact that the Europeans first employed cooks from among the Batanga /Tanga/, one of the coastal peoples. Macabo is more important to them than taro, and their word akabe (plural, makabe) became macabo among the Europeans. Generally speaking, there is little to say about macabo cultivation among the Pangwe. They simply let it grow in the old places between the plantains around the village, just as it was left by departing predecessors. There it stands today -- reverting to the wild state -- and anyone can take as much as he likes. When the Pangwe settle a new region, however, they too plant macabo in the village and occasionally cultivate it. Two species of macabo are distinguished: the green mfū'm ekábe (mfū'm, "white, bright"), whose tubers are white; and a second, ńjí ekábe (ńjí, "dark"), whose leafstalks are a dark reddish color and whose tubers are likewise reddish. The white species is indisputably the better one. The dark species is not suited for the preparation of the macabo biscuits that are popular among the Europeans.

Taro, on the other hand, is cultivated, and since, as is well known, it thrives on moist soil, it is planted in the vicinity of swamps or in places with an abundance of water, more rarely near houses, and usually together with macabo. Taro farms are generally not large. There are three species of taro:

1. mfū'm atś: leafstalks green, underside of the leaf smooth;
2. adźle III (from a dźā, "to fill"; this species bears so many little tubers that they fill a whole plate): leafstalks bluish, underside of the leaf smooth; /102/

244 3. *nsfindóle* III: leafstalk bluish, underside of leaf along each side of the ribs has dark green lichenous excrescences.

Taro is planted twice, in the long and short rainy seasons, and it is harvested twice, in the following long and short dry seasons. All the tubers are removed from the soil, and the farm is thus harvested completely. If any tubers are forgotten, they are picked up during the next dry season, but that is the end; there are never more than two harvests from the same sowing. A piece of land once used for taro is never cultivated a second time since enough swampy soil is available. There are no medicines to promote the growth of taro. 714

The tubers and young leaves are eaten as vegetables. Furthermore, the Pangwe are familiar with the fact that insufficiently boiled tubers cause "*metfál*," that is, itching in the neck, and so forth. The tubers are also used as medicine for blood tumors (*mvi̇m*); the resin-like secretion of the *Pachylobus fraxinifolius* Engl., Burseraceae (*asi̇*), is placed on the swelling, and over this is smeared a salve made from the parings of raw taro tubers. This is supposed to make the diseased areas become "*nfgan*," that is, weak or soft. 757 278

Plantain

245 The shoots of the plantain, as well as of the banana which is cultivated alongside it, are planted around the village or on farms. They thrive without care and ripen during each season of the year. The plantain (1) or Negro banana, *Musa paradisiaca* L. (*ekõn*),

> 1. The /German/ word Plante is derived from "plantain" which in turn comes from the Spanish *plátano*, "banana." Since the plantain is very different from the true banana, I consider the retention of the word "plantain" useful. The French call it *banane-cochon.*

Figure 56, which in the Pangwe region has 25 different varieties, does not, to be sure, attain the luxuriance of the banana which grows like a weed. Nevertheless, it is very productive, just the plant for a Negro.

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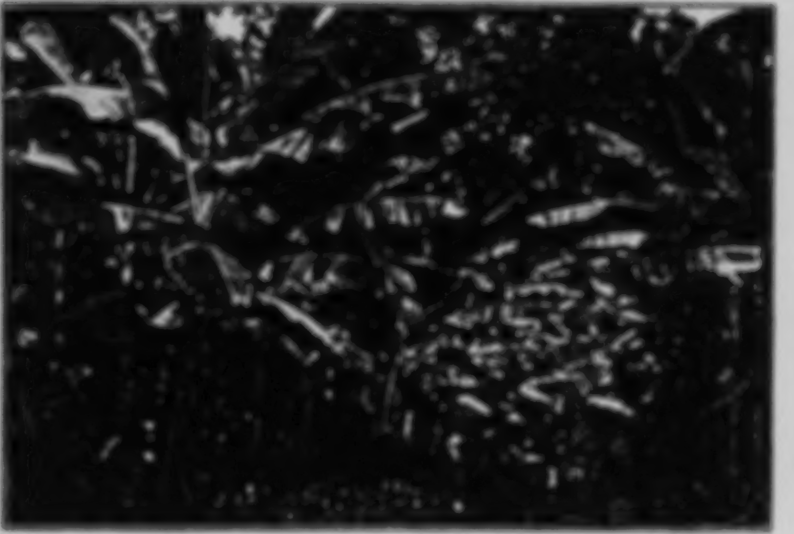

Fig. 56. Plantains (Negro Bananas) and Bananas near Nsàlang (Esäsong Family)

[34]

Riddle:	mönînga	e	ne	m'	ohó,	a	wǒ̃le
	woman	she	is	to me	there,	she	many

bě'	bǒn,	kaa		nǹm
gives birth to	children,	no	(without)	man.

Answer: ekǒ̃n = plantain.

That is precisely the ideal: reward without labor, fruit without effort, food which without the work of hands grows into one's mouth. In this sense the plantain, like its sister, the banana, is really the most deserving of all the cultivated plants of the name "paradisiaca." Of the banana, Musa paradisiaca var. sapientum L., there are two species: the bush banana (adzǔi, adzǔi-ekǒ̃n); and the noble banana (etǔt, etǔt-ekǒ̃n). As is apparent from /103/ /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text/ the name, even among the Pangwe the banana is regarded as a variety of plantain. The noble banana, the one we know, was introduced from the coast, according to the Pangwe. At first it was called madzǔi

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245 [177] mentikgeo, "bananas of the Whites." Later it was given the name etik, from the stem a tik, "to moan." "One" ate too much of it; "one" could not digest so much; "one" became weak; "one" could not catch anything during the hunt, which among the Fangwe is always the chief source of worry, and so forth.

244 I can only give a brief account at this point of the less important vegetables. The sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas L. (digi III), is not cultivated; it thrives like a weed in the vicinity of the villages and chokes out every other weed, so that one can speak of miniature potato fields. It is not a very popular food. Other vegetables are sown and planted either in the vicinity of the houses or on the farms. 245 124 Of these vegetables we should name first Cucurbita maxima Duch. (ebě'e), which belongs to the Cucurbitaceae family and of which there are four varieties. The flesh of the fruit is eaten, as is the interior of the seeds, and small unripe fruit is also added whole to the groundnut bundle. Its young leaves are cut into small pieces and eaten as vegetables. The skin of the fruit cannot be removed, otherwise one would be wounded in battle. The men must avoid the [133] seeds if they do not want to lose their virility the /104/ following night; hence it is regarded as tactless if the women serve the fruit with the seeds to the men at mealtime.

244 Of the Malvaceae and the Tiliaceae, Hibiscus and Corchorus (tége III - fruit, etsí'tám) are planted. The name is derived from a tëk, "weak," for the leaves are cooked in a short time on the fire; the fruit is called etsi'tam from a tébé etám, "to stand alone," for they stand alone at the tip of the stalk when the leaves are withered or have been picked off. Both fruit and leaves are eaten. The following varieties are distinguished: Hibiscus moschatus Roxb. (nia tége - true hibiscus); and the Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngikábelómo IV). The name esăh includes three plants of different families, namely, Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (engá'ne-esăh), the Polygonacea Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ekĭbú'dō-es), and the Melastomatacea Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Triaq. (esăăn-bongó'n-b'oyak).

All these plants are sown, and their leaves are eaten. Other cultivated plants are the following.

244 From the family of the Solanaceae there are: Solanum melongena L. var. inerme Hiern. (akɔ̃'n); Solanum dinklagei U.D. (oyɔ̃'la); Solanum lycopersicum L. (akɔ̃'n ntaŋgan = akɔ̃'n, that is, Solanum melongena, of the Whites). The fruit of these three varieties of Solanum is eaten. Furthermore, there is Solanum aethiopicum L. (zɔm IV, esɔm) with these varieties: nlɛ zɔm = true zɔm, ntɔma l. and ndaŋ'-zɔm, as well as Solanum macrocarpum L. var. thonningii (esɛ̃'-zɔm from esɛ̃' = Solanum duplosinuatum U.D., because of the similarity of the fruit). The leaves of the latter two species are eaten. From the family of the Amaranthaceae there are: Celosia argentea L. (zɔm e mvele, that is, zɔm of the Mwele); Celosia laxa Schum. et Thonn. (zɔzɔm [?], ebɔ̃ŋegɔ̃n); Amaranthus paniculatus L. (zɔzɔm IV, zɔm IV). From the family of the Labiatae there are: Ocimum basilicum L. (osim); Ocimum gratissimum L. (asɔ̃'n); Plectranthus spec. (asɛ̃), afɔ̃n; and Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke (elɔ̃'lɔ̃'nge, Ntum; elɔ̃'ngelɔ̃'nge, Fang).

II. Livestock

23| For reasons which I shall mention in a moment, the Pangwe keep domestic animals, but this is not the kind of economic activity that could be called stock farming. The four-footed domestic animals include dogs, goats, and sheep; as for fowl, there are hens and, recently introduced, ducks.

[262] The dog (mvu IV) is kept basically for hunting. It is also eaten, a practice which is especially popular among the Jaunde. In the eyes /105/ of the European this dog is no more than a caricature, a repulsive travesty of a real dog. A glance into their false eyes suffices to make one hate the animals. Usually they are covered with sores; they are thieving and treacherous, disobedient, cowardly, and at the same time quarrelsome. In these characteristics they frequently strike the observer as comparable to their masters. I was struck by their not very highly developed sexual urge, in contrast to European dogs. The Pangwe values his dog all the more highly because of its great usefulness on the hunting drive. Good hunting dogs are very difficult to obtain from their owners and are worth as much

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231 [435] as medium-sized female goats and sheep (14 marks or 200 spears). Just as among us, the dogs have their own names which are taken from
231 559 the list of human names or else allude in jocular fashion to the characteristics of the animals. Frequently, indeed, these swine-snouted curs are given a first name and a patronymic, just like people, or since for obvious reasons it is at times difficult to establish the paternity of the dog, it is given a first name and its mother's name, thus, akut-e-mban.

Among human names applied to dogs I was able to discover the following: odjono (a very ancient man's name; see pages 68 and 69); asen (umbrella tree, man's name); mvong (Satan's ape, Colobus anthracinus Leconte); ondo (?, man's name); mbde-abo (single otter, woman's name); mfu'me-fok (the white of the elephant, that is ivory; woman's name); mbla (ivory, woman's name).

Other dogs' names are: obong (from obon = bead, one adorned with beads, perhaps also a woman's name); olan (the tree Rinorea dentata [P. Beauv.] O. Ktze.); ebo'mengn (one who always lies on the bed); aji'fok (a ji' = to yearn, fok = elephant; in other words the one who yearns for elephant meat); angon (dog's bell); odza'm (dwarf lemur, Hemigalago, because the dog bounds through the bushes like the dwarf lemurs in the trees); akuy (the stupid one).

231 556 Goats and sheep, which the Fang put together under the name kabad, are kept as an investment, as pets, and only in third place as livestock for slaughter. While the economic life is otherwise considered from the viewpoint of "food," this strikingly recedes completely into the background concerning domestic animals where the main point is the joy of possession. We thus have real "savings," the purpose of which is to store up bride money. This has its familiar consequences: thriftiness carried to the point of avarice; a piece of
[512] meat allowed only on very rare occasions; and no distaste for the enjoyment of animals that have died.

231 The goats (eko'le) are just as unpleasant as the dogs because of their annoying habit of making a hullabaloo at night and because of other indecent and repulsive characteristics. The only domestic animal that we find congenial is the sheep (ntjima I), Figure 57, but here, too, the bad example of the goats frequently spoils good manners. They "specialize" in producing, especially at night, /106/ /Fig. 57

231

Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonanfan (Ojek Family).

appears here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where there are leopards, [417] pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

232 In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tŭb miak - to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The ex- [304] pert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okŏngŏn) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of [278] the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atŭih), pre- [214] sumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

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Fig. 58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Memfim (Ndong Family), South Cameroons.

This favorable influence on the physical development of the animal increases its value from about 14 marks to 35 marks (500 spears), a capital increase which is certainly desirable to the Pangwe. Even greater, however, is his joy at the beautiful appearance of the castrated animals. /107/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./ The effect of castration is the basis for the comparison between symbolically, not physically, castrated people (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") and the castrated goats and also for designation by the same name; these people -- up to a certain point in time, at least -- are supposed to undergo conspicuous mental development. The fact that the flesh of animals also improves as food through castration plays only a secondary role. 232 [435]

Magnificent old specimens, including uncastrated goats and sheep, sometimes receive a human name, and their owner would never sell such an animal; indeed, he would not even give it away as a marriage portion. 231/552

Of other domestic animals there is only the cat (pfo's IV Fang, esf'nā), very recently introduced from the coast. 231/177

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

235 For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
417 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

235 During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
177 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang region and were called elo̊ (wild duck = elɔ̃'); later they were called elɔ̃' III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a yɛ̂) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esă'să' = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adamoni (myǎfǎŋ IV, bĩ' IV
232 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wǔi' ; plural, mǔi'), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

226/136 outstanding and most typical representatives of the fish world of the Campo-Uelle region are shown on Plate 5. Here the family of the sheatfish (Siluridae) is especially abundantly represented. Of these fish we should mention: *Eutropius banguelensis* Blgr. (*ohida* Fang, *hida* IV Ntum; young = *ongb*); the spiny-finned sheatfish, *Auchenoglanis balayi* (Sauv.) var. *gravoti* Pellegr., that is the catfish of the Pangwe, *nsin* I (1); *Clarias submarginatus* Pts. (*nsě'* IV Fang, *nsě'* IV Ntum); and *Clarias walkeri* Gthr. (*ngō'* IV), as well as a new Synodontis species, *Synodontis tessmanni* Papph. (*ehě'*), and a new Clariallabes species, *Clariallabes longicaudatus* Papph. (*nkonge* I, *nkone* III). Furthermore, species were gathered from the genera *Doumea*, *Parauchenoglanis*, and *Atopochilus*. Of the Mormyridae the following should be mentioned: *Gnathonemus moorii* (Gthr.), *angʷe*, which is to be found everywhere and is notable because of its peculiar /109/ tail fin equipped with an electrically charged organ; and, secondly, *Marcusenius sphecodes* (Sauv.), *nkongʷm* I. Both of these are smaller species and of no importance for the Pangwe. Of the family of the Characinidae, the following are especially noteworthy: *Sarcodaces odoë* (Bl.), *nsó* I); *Distichodus hypostomatus* Pellegr., *mbin* I; and the newly discovered *Alestes tessmanni* Papph. (*ohida* Fang, *hida* IV Ntum). From the family of the Cyprinidae there are species of *Barbus*, such as *Barbus guirali* Thomin (*nyè* III, *endzi'ma nyè*), and the new *Barbus malacanthus* Papph., as well as several species of the genus *Barilius*. In addition, I have collected species from the families Cyprinodontidae, Anabantidae, Cichlidae, and Mastacembelidae, which I shall not describe in detail here.

226/501 The wealth of fish in the larger streams is exploited to a relatively minor degree because the Pangwe feel themselves too unsafe with their ill-made rafts on the many rapids. Moreover, the small number of dugouts, which must also handle the traffic at river crossings, is insufficient for a satisfactory exploitation of the abundance of fish, as well as totally unsuited for a regular fishing industry

1. *nsin* I, the civet cat *Genetta*, because the fish is spotted in exactly the same way.

industry. To these considerations should be added the seclusion of the villages and poor communication facilities. The hydrographic conditions in themselves bring about considerable differentiation even in a fairly small area. In Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/, for instance, fishing does not play the large role that it does in the south; the Bawa (a group of the Jaunde), for example, are familiar with only four methods of catching fish aside from fish driving, namely, with basket weirs, using long baskets (mŏp I) and ordinary baskets (nkŏé I), poisoning fish (ngŏm IV), and angling.

To describe the various forms that the fishing industry takes in the different regions would lead me too far afield. Hence, in order to give a general picture of the fishing industry, I shall discuss only the various procedures with which I became acquainted among the central Pangwe in the river region of the Campo with its left tributaries, the Uelle in its central zone, and above all its tributaries, the Bimfille, Abea, etc. The best months for catching fish in these regions are September to February, when the water level in the rivers begins to go down; during the remaining period there is only angling or here and there a basket is set.

Fishing is men's work, with the sole exception of fish driving which is a task for women. The methods are as follows.

1. Fish driving, a lŭk (verb)

In shallow brooks or streams the water is driven downstream by means of flat baskets, the so-called bush plates (dĭă). /110/ after transverse dams of stones or twigs have first been set up at some distance. These prevent the fish from escaping. Then the women fish from the pools that remain with a small-meshed, shallow net tied to a stalk from the plant Scitaminea *Trachyphrynium violaceum* Radl. (nkŏmonkŏmo) that has been bent double. Like the bush plate, this net is actually a piece of kitchen equipment, used to wash cassava.

The catch consists of only little fish, a few fingers or at most a few spans long, a variety of snails, some species of shrimp (1),

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1. In the main, species of *Palaemon*

224 macrobrachyum Herklots (nwĕ i) and
Caridina togoensis Hilgd. (ué IV).

the larvae of dragon flies, and other kinds of lower animals. The total catch, however, is pretty large. Everything is eaten, and fishing is one of the women's chief enjoyments. Accordingly, time and time again one will see all the women of a village, from the oldest grandmother down to the smallest girl, wandering into the forest where they know of a suitable stream, and there they will splash around to their heart's content until late into the night. Frequently the entire company will not return to the village until the first owl causes the silent forest to resound with its eerie call. Then they come tramping home with their rich booty which can scarcely be contained in the women's long baskets (nkun). At a fish drive the women build fiɛ (Fang, pfiɛ (Ntum), or ebĕla, that is, piles of stones, little pieces of branches, or the like thrown into the water close to the bank, under which the fish gather. At the next fish drive they dam off the brook above and below this place and then catch the fish with no trouble at all after the water has run off.

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The Jaunde use this method also in large streams and rivers that are not too deep. They do not construct any dams, however; instead, the fish are driven into shallow inlets or onto flooded forest ground. Of course it must be remembered that such fish drives can be carried out only by the concerted efforts of a number of people. Hence, the chief calls together the women from the neighborhood, goes with them to the place where they want to fish, and stations them in their places. In exchange, he receives a certain share; each woman must give him half of her catch, and an uneven number is rounded off upwards.

2. Fish driving (abŭlă)

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This corresponds to the procedure of the Jaunde just described, but it takes place only at night and without damming the water in larger rivers.

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3. Children's angling (*ngɔ̃k* IV)

Ntum and Fang boys catch small fish with tackle made of porcupine quills. The quills are broken off near the top and are held together in the form of a hook by means /111/ of the firm root fibers [124] of the Aracea *Rhectophyllum mirabile* N.E. Brown (*ndé's* IV, *kɛ́s* IV).

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4. Fishing tackle (*nlɔ́b* I)

The Jaunde know tackle similar to ours, consisting of a line, pole, hook, and floater, and according to information provided by my Jaunde, it was in use even before the Whites arrived. The tackle of the Fang and Ntum (Fig. 59) is considerably different; the hook is held down on the river bottom by means of a stone fastened to the line. In former times they also had a floater but more recently this has for the most part been given up as useless. With the line in his hand, the angler crouches on a raft or canoe that lies hidden in the bushes by the bank. Worms are used everywhere for bait.

5. Rope tackle or hanging tackle (*ekɛ́le nlɔ́b*, *elúh nlɔ́b*

This differs from the tackle just mentioned only in that the line is attached to a liana rope stretched across the river. It hangs in the water, held in place by the stone which acts as a sinker.

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6. Spearing and shooting

The Pangwe spears larger fish from the river bank or from a tree trunk lying in the water, or he shoots them with a gun or a crossbow. By the way of a postscript I shall also mention the fact that in shallow water fish are killed with the cutlass.

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7. Fish poison (ngŭ̦m IV)

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278 Catching fish by poisoning the water is a practice that is universal throughout the Pangwe region, but it is not done frequently because suitable places are not found everywhere. Such places are basins or inlets closed off by rocks, where the stream flows slowly. The Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. /Fig. 59 appears here in the original text/ (mbŭn), Plate 9, finds a habitat especially to its liking between the rocks in these basins and inlets, and it is caught there chiefly by poisoning. The name is derived from an herb (ngŭm) which is supposed to occur in the Jaunde region and is used there for killing fish. Subsequently, the name became a general word for all fish poisons. In the south the following plants are used as poisons.

1. Husks of the Leguminosae Pachyelasma tessmánnii Harms (makŏ'ǫ III which gives off a terrible stench like that of waste water. /112/
2. Fruit of a Rubiacea (oyŏ'), commonly used with 1 above.
3. Leaves and stalks of the Passifloraceae Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook. f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (their name in common, undŭndŭ or ŭndŏndŏle a ndẑik).
4. Leaves of Duverronia extensa (T. And.) Lieb., Acanthacea (ngŭnekiă̦ī'-nya-zăm IV) (1)

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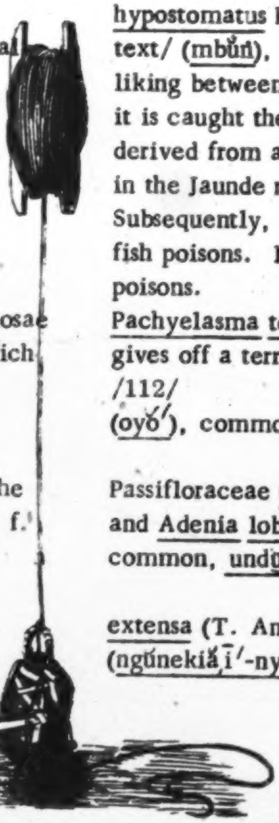

Fig. 59. Fishing Line.

1. The Acanthacea Lankesteria elegans (P.B.) T. And. (ngŭnekiă̦ī' IV) also seems to be poisonous for fish. According to information given by the Negroes,

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the leaves are rubbed to a power on rocks lying in the water; the fish (probably stupefied) then come to the surface and are killed with the cutlass.

rubbed into small pieces until foam forms; ordinarily used with 3 above.

5. Pieces of bark of the Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosae (tŭm IV).
6. Pieces of bark of the Rinorea dentata (P. B.) O. Ktze., Violaceae (olŭṅ), commonly used with 5 above.
7. Husks of the Leguminosae Tetrapleura thonningii Hook. f. (agbwā' III, esisē'i) (2), rubbed to a powder.

2. Incidentally, these give off a lovely scent, like that of hot rolls, and in this respect they are just the opposite of Pachyelasma.

8. Leaves of the Leguminosae Tephrosia vogelii Hook. f. (ndăwólō III) (3), rubbed to a powder.

3. From the stem a wŏlŏ, "to murder"; compare wǒle (Uelle), "the murderer."

7. Fish weir (olă'm)

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The greatest and most productive installation for catching fish, also the most complicated, is the fish weir (Fig. 60). It blocks the river crosswise and consists of three parts: the main weir (a), and two lateral weirs (b). These are walls made of logs or sticks placed close together, between which leaves or sheets of bark (main weir) are fastened. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text./ Holes are cut out along the bottom of the lateral weirs, and baskets are placed in them. Just below the surface of the water the main weir extends into from one to four triangular screens (c) which are placed toward the current, slanting from the bottom

227 upwards in such a fashion that their tips just protrude above the water.

It goes without saying that such weirs can be built only when the water level is lowest. As soon as the water in the river rises, it carries many fish with it and /113/ drives those which are not caught in the baskets of the lateral weirs onto the screens where they often remain in large numbers and are simply picked up by the Negroes. They are reached by a special bridge built out from the bank or by climbing along the edge of the lateral weir.

227 423 This kind of fish weir occurs everywhere except in the north. Usually the chief induces a number of people to construct such a weir; these people then have the sole right of ownership to the fish weir and the fish. They do give their relatives and acquaintances, probably for nothing, a part of their catch, either from a sense of solidarity or because they expect that in similar circumstances they will be provided for in the same way. On the other hand they
[435] demand payment from strangers, the amount depending on the size of the fish, one or two spears (seven or 14 pfennigs) apiece. The major part of the catch is consumed immediately; the rest is
[251 435] dried. Since fish spoil quickly in the tropics, only a very few leave the place where they are caught; another reason for this is that the uncertain conditions in the Fang area prevent regular trade (1).

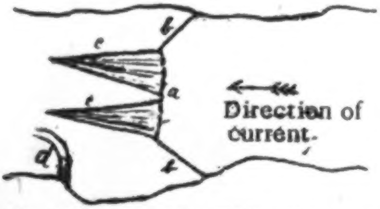

Fig. 60. Diagram of a Fish Weir in the Abea: (a) main weir, (b) lateral weirs, (c) screens of the main weir, (d) a tree growing on the bank and bent over the water.

1. There are no markets at all.

227 285 In addition to the contrivance just described, consisting of main and lateral weirs, one also encounters lateral weirs used by themselves

227] 285 as independent "basket weirs." They provide a less abundant catch, but on the other hand they are not restricted to a certain water level and for that reason give a regular supply. Three different kinds of basket are used in this kind of weir:

8. nkŏẹ́ I = ordinary baskets,

9. ayă′ = short fish baskets (Fig. 61),

10. nsŏṇ́ I = long fish baskets (Fig. 62),

and usually two such kinds are used together.

227 226 In smaller rivers or streams, such as the Miemie, a tributary of the Kje, nsŏṇ́ and ayă′ are laid, and in large rivers, a larger form of the ayă′ and nkŏẹ́. These two types of baskets are always used in one weir since experience has shown that one species of fish is more readily caught in one type of basket, while another species is more readily caught in the other. Only rarely is just one type of basket, such as the nsŏṇ́, used exclusively. These long baskets, nsŏṇ́, which may have a diameter up to 30 centimeters, are used with special frequency among the Jaunde, but also occur in the south. Usually from three to four baskets are placed in one weir, say, two ayă′ and two nsŏṇ́ (Fig. 63). At the same time it should be noted that the long baskets, nsŏṇ́, lie with the opening towards the source, while the ayă′ (like the nkŏẹ́) are placed with the opening facing the river mouth, so the fish that are swimming upstream will also be caught. The weir that consists of ayă′ and nsŏṇ́ is designed for the following /114/ /Figs. 61 and 62 appear here in the original text/ creatures: spiny-finned sheatfish (collective name, kọ̌mĕsŭ́m IV) (1); Clarias walkeri (ngọ̌′); Synodontis tessmanni Papph. (ngọ̌ṅ, nwọ̌ṅ I); furthermore, Marcusenius sphekodes (Saus.) (ntŏtọ̌m); Gnathonemus moorii (Gthr.) (anĕ́n); crawfish; common crabs; Palaemon shrimps (nwộs); etc. Finally, Clariallabes longicaudatus Papph. (ndọ̈na I) are also caught in it.

1. kộ(s)-a-masŭ́m, that is, fish with spines on its back.

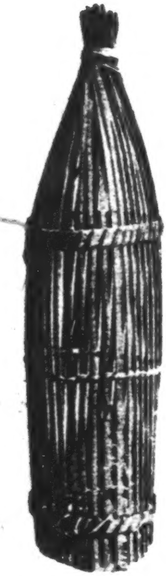

Fig. 61. Short Fish Basket.

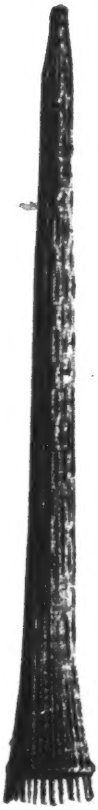

Fig. 62. Long fish Basket Weirs.

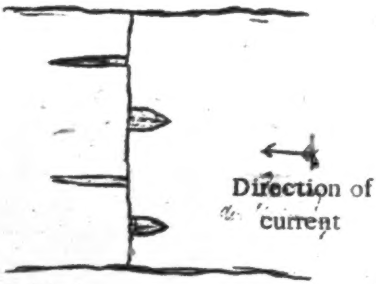
Direction of current

Fig. 63. Diagram of a Basket Weir.

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226 The baskets, nkǒ̩ḗ, are the same size as the baskets of the same name used by the women in field work. They have a funnel through which the fish passes into the interior without being able to turn back. In these baskets mainly the following creatures are caught: Sarcodaces odoe (nsṓ I), Plate 9; Clarias walkeri, spiny-finned sheatfish; Xenocharax spilurus Gthr. (mfǐ'gǎ, mfí'nga I); Anabas pleurostigma Blgr. (awǔn); Parauchenoglanis guttatus (Lönnbg.) (ebū', evǘs); Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (nkǎ'de III; younger specimens = okiḗ̩ III); and common crabs. On the other hand, they do not catch Barbus guirali Thomin. (mvǎǎ́ III).

11. Basket trap (ngū̩ǎ́ IV)

The basket trap (Fig. 64) is a longish basket with a lid in front of the opening. The lid is pulled over the opening by means of a device set up on the river bank, following the pattern of spring traps, when a fish releases the lever system attached at the farther end of the basket. A snail is placed as bait inside the basket which is anchored to the bottom of the stream in water not too deep. This trap is principally designed to catch Clarias walkeri (ngo̩') and common crabs (kā'da).

12. Catch basket (ngǔ̩děgō III)

/Fig. 63 appears here in the original text./ This is a small basket with a funnel over the opening (Fig. 65), designed for the Clarias walkeri. It is placed in a river, baited with pieces of an ant nest (called dzā'k, ndzā̩k IV), /115/ together with ants of the species Cremastogaster striatula Em. (esǒn, osǒn), or with pieces of tree termite nests (likewise called dzā̩'k).

The fish baskets, ayǎ', are placed individually in the river in the same way. These are baited with cassava (1) or with twigs (without

1. Whole roots of dried cassava (ndžā̩ǎ mbǘn), boiled (agbwǎ̩ma mbǘn) and cut into small pieces.

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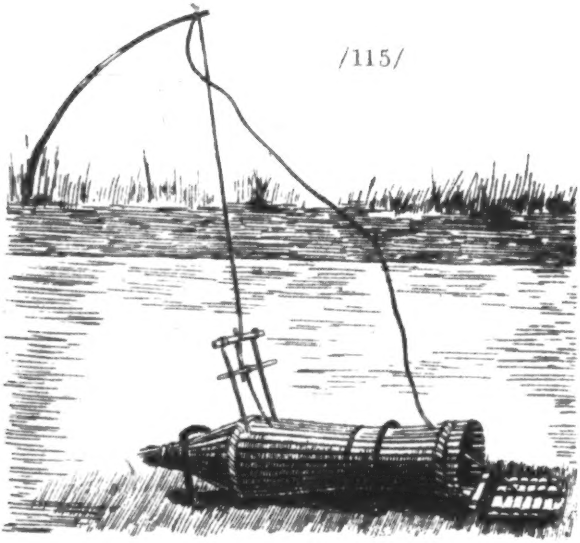
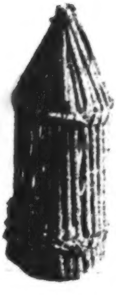


Fig. 64. Basket Trap for Fish.

Fig. 65. Catch Basket for Fish.



leaves) of the *Oxystigma buchholzii* Harms, Leguminosae (*pfū̦n* IV). In this case the baskets are called *ewū̦a-aya′* (from *a wū̦a*, "to throw out"). /Fig. 64 appears here in the original text./

13. Giant fish baskets (*edū̦gă*, *adū̦ā́*)

Baskets from three to four meters long and from one to two meters wide, in other words, so large that they would hold from four to five people, are lowered into deep water where they are left for four days the first time and afterwards three days in each case. The entire basket is loosely filled with twigs of the Leguminosae *Millettia thonningii* Bak. (*onĕ̦mežo̦k*), the *Impatiens dichroa* Hook. f. (*ejê̦s*), and especially the Euphorbiacea *Cleistanthus angolensis* M. Arg. (*ngbắde* I); all are plants whose slime or leaves are eaten by the fish. Further, the baskets are filled with the leafy stalks of the cardamom, *Aframomum albo-violaceum* K. Sch. (*adžŏm*), or of the related Scitaminea *Renealmia albo-rosea* K. Sch. (*adžŏ̌m-mekū́m*), whose smell the fish love. Finally, also, they put into the baskets roots of the cassava and of the Euphorbiacea *Uapaca guineensis* Muell. Arg. (*asắm*), around which the fish like to swim. The basket is open in front and is pulled out of the water open side first, so that the fish -- already hampered and confused by the tangle of roots and twigs -- cannot escape so readily. /Fig. 65 appears here in the original text./

14. Giant fish boxes (*esĭ̦ḗ*, *bū̦ū* III)

Boxes are sometimes used instead of the giant baskets. These are constructed of bark and are from three to four meters long, a meter and a half tall. Aside from their shape, they are distinguished from the baskets by a lid which is open in the water and is pulled shut when the box is drawn out of the water.

The giant fish boxes and baskets are not easy to construct or to manipulate, and for this reason they are not often seen.

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15. Fish ditches (mvēī IV., mvě)

Perpendicular to the direction of the river, a ditch (Fig. 66) is dug out and closed off from the river by a wall of bark (a) with a trap door in the middle. The ditch is furnished with bait, nests of the above-mentioned species of ants (c). Across the ditch a foot bridge is constructed (b). After the door has been left open for a number of days, it is closed one night from the foot bridge, and the fish are then taken from the ditch with a net. Again, the fish are chiefly Clarias walkeri and secondarily Marcusenius (ntotom). This method of catching fish is practiced only in the southern region.

Round fishing nets that are thrown and spread out like parachutes as they sink into the water, such as are used everywhere along the coast, are unknown to the Pangwe. The small round net which the women use for washing the cassava as well as for catching fish has already been mentioned. There remains to be discussed only one more fishing device.

16. Net trap (olǎń)

This is a combination of a net with a scaffolding. The scaffolding is shown from the rear in Figure 67. It consists of three individual parts: the front gallows (a) with two cross beams (d); the back gallows (b) with the supporting lath (c); and the center piece. The latter is composed of the net hoop (f), the net attached to it (in the illustration it has not yet been fastened on), and three long raffia stalks fastened at (x): one free (g); and two others (e) which are tied to the net hoop at y and z and rest on top of the crossbeam (c). A person sitting on the front gallows can manipulate the net with the stick (g); by this means he can lower the net (Fig. 68) or, if it is not needed, he can raise it, push it between the poles (d), and then place it (g) back on c (Fig. 69). The scaffolding is erected in a stream in such fashion that the net will lie on the bottom. The stream itself is dammed off on both sides so the fish are driven into the net by the current. They are unable to escape from the net's sharply pointed bag /117/ (see Fig. 69). The net is called etǐ́tǎ́ne. For obvious reasons, only smaller fish are caught in the net trap which, if only because of its shape, cannot be called exceedingly practical.

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/Fig. 66 appears here in the original text./

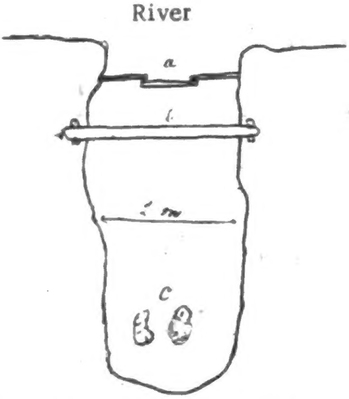


Fig. 66. Diagram of a Fish Ditch: (a) bark wall with door, (b) bridge, (c) bait.

IV. Trapping

224
[462]

After agriculture and fishing, the third most important economic activity is trapping which is exclusively carried out by the male part of the population. The various traps constructed by the Pangwe can be classified as follows:

- A. Traps into which the prey falls
  - 1. Pitfalls (ebēī, ndắn I)
- B. Traps which work by dropping a beam, a plate, or a piece of iron
  - 2. Spring traps (ekūīdí)
  - 3. Spring plates (akui)
  - 4. Spear trap (elúṇ)
- C. Traps that consist of a draw noose
  - 5. Simple noose (ašīma, etc.)
  - 6. Draw traps (olắm)
    - (a) Ground draw traps (olắm) (1)

1. Not to be confused with the alắm (fish weir).

    - (b) Tree draw trap (nkpwăs I)
    - (c) Lemur trap (mbúń I)
  - 7. Francolin trap (ndǒṅ IV)
  - 8. Bow traps (eklé̌le)
- D. Traps that sound an alarm
  - 9. Civet cat trap (nliṅ I)

224

1. Pitfalls (ebēi, ndań I)

The simplest kind of trap, the pit, is to be found throughout the entire region. Everywhere along the paths through the forest there are narrow, rectangular pits, many of which are three meters deep. They are so close to the path that at times they can be a source of danger -- carefully covered as they are -- to pedestrians who are not paying close attention. Near the bottom they become so narrow that a person falling into them remains hanging wedged between the walls halfway /118/ /Fig. 67 appears here in the original text/ and cannot get out again by himself. Pits having pointed [726] posts at the bottom are not for wild animals; they are used only in war. The pits are usually constructed by two people, the owners, of whom one digs while the other carries away the dirt. The person [834 who has done the digging may not have any sexual intercourse for 831] five days after this work, for the pit is a hole like the female sex organ; thus, if he were to defile himself through sexual intercourse with a woman, he would not catch anything in the pit.

2. Spring traps (eküīdí)

The Pangwe distinguish seven types of spring traps, that is to say, traps in which the animal is killed either by a tree trunk suspended over a passage and released by means of a trigger device or by a freely balanced, weighted plate, raised above the ground.

A. True spring traps for wild animals
  1. eküidi-osáb or osăb
  2. eküidi-eso̱do̱
  3. eküidi-nko̱k
  4. alŭńa-eküidi

B. Rat spring traps
  5. eküidi-o-si
  6. eküidi-o-jób

C. Spring plates
  7. aküi

/119/ /Figs. 68 and 69 appear here in the original text./

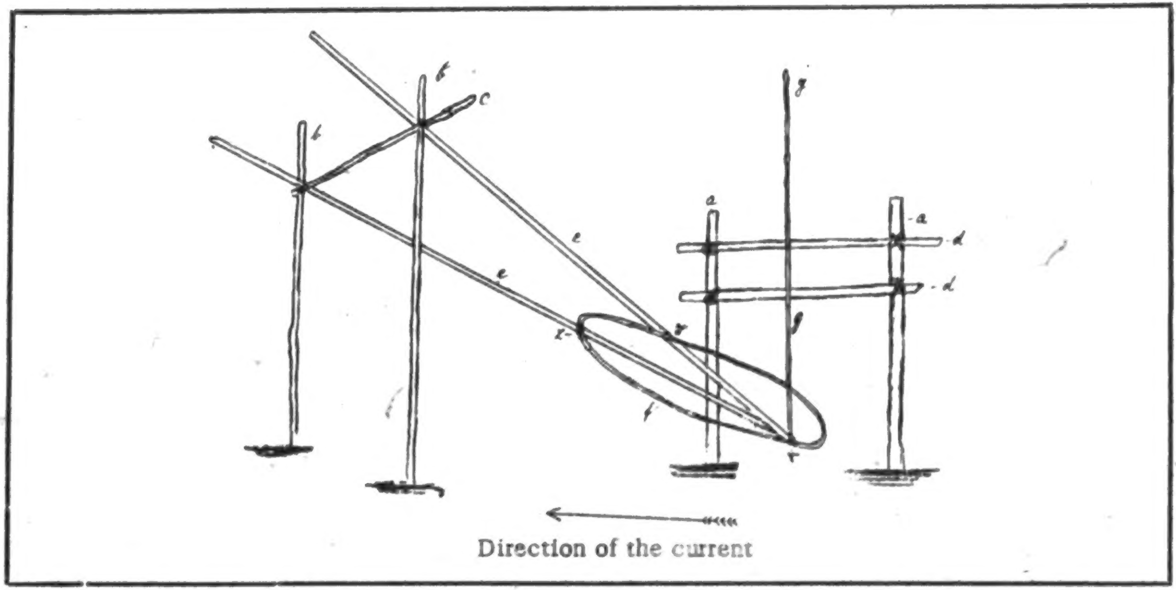
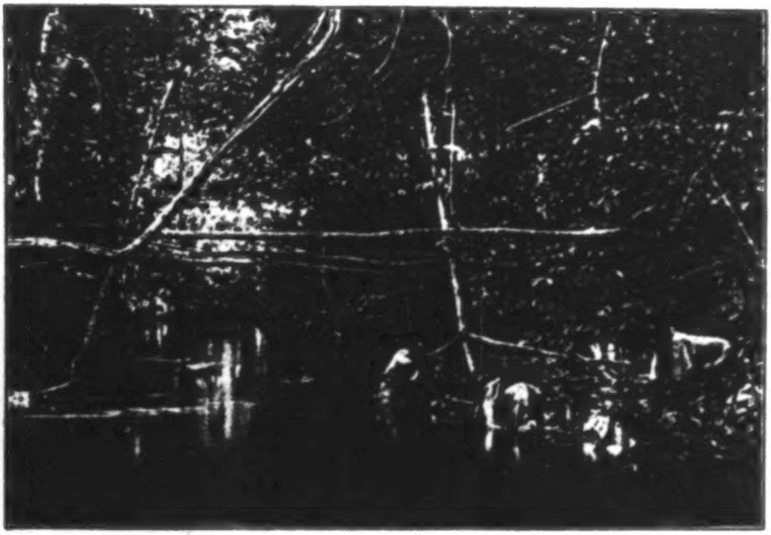
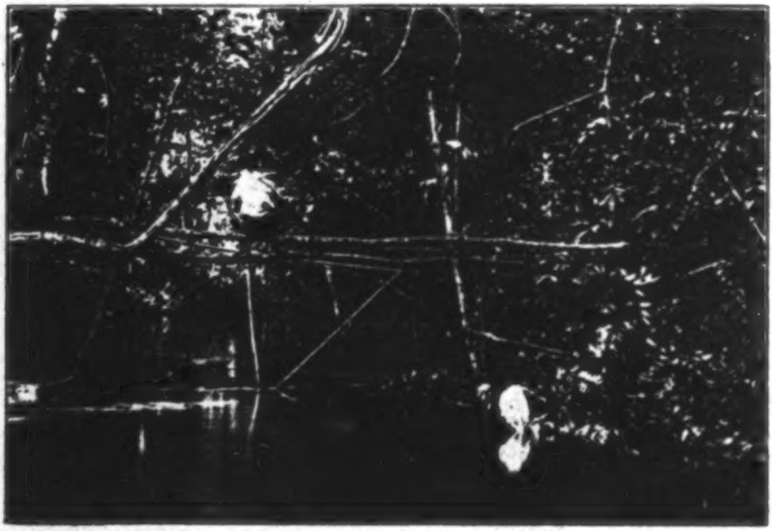

b
b
c
g
a
a
d
e
d
e
r
r
g
f
r
Direction of the current

Fig. 67. Framework of a Net Trap for Fish.

226





Figs. 68 and 69. Fishing with a Net attached to Scaffolding.

224 The most profitable and hence most frequently used spring trap for wild animals is the *osa,b*, which is set up in conjunction with a game fence. It is illustrated in Figure 70, Drawings 1 and 2. The fence frequently extends through the whole wooded area, usually along the paths. It has various openings and consists of sticks driven into the ground side by side. The sticks are either placed very close together or at longer intervals, and then they 224 are intertwined with leaves of *Sarcophrynium velutinum* (*okiaikui*), raffia palm, or swamp palm. As a result, the majority of smaller animals have to run along the fence and can find no way out other than through these openings. At these points the actual traps are constructed. A corridor is erected at right angles to the fence by driving into the ground two rows of sticks (*i*) closely adjoining each other. The end one or one of the end ones (in the illustration the one on the left-hand side) is forked at the top. Inside the corridor a tree trunk (*g*) is placed in such a way that one end lies on the ground and the other end -- weighted by other trunks (*h*) -- is held suspended by a lever (*e*) resting on the forked stick (*k*). In turn, the lever (*e*) is held by a trigger device which is a uniform feature of all trap and draw springs and hence will be described here once and for all. The device consists of a trap spring (*a*) planted in the ground at either end and a vice (*b*) which is pressed against the trap spring by means of a small piece of wood (*c*), the clamp. This releasing device is connected with the lever by means of a string (*d*) tied to the clamp. The string is fastened to the free (left-hand) arm of the lever and thus holds up the tree trunk, which is tied to the other arm of the lever. The vice (*b*) extends through the fence poles into the corridor where it is covered by leaves placed over sticks that have been bent in the shape of a gable.

Now, when an animal enters the corridor and steps on the vice, the latter is pressed down and thereby the clamp is released, so that the left arm of the lever flies up and the tree trunk falls down.

In spite of the great amount of work involved in constructing the long fence, this spring trap is usually not made jointly by all inhabitants of a village, but -- like the fish weir -- by two men.

1: Tessmann--97 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

224 The trap catches the following animals in particular: the hamster rat, *Cricetomys dissimilis* Rochebrune (kui); the porcupine, *Atherura africana* Gray (*ngúm*); squirrels; the duikerbok, *Cephalophus melanorheus* (*ogbwŭn*); in the vicinity of water, the dwarf musk deer, *Hyemoschus aquaticus* Ogilby. (*viŏn*; plural, *lŏ́n*); a number of bird species that live on the ground, such as doves, guinea fowl, francolins (*Francolinus squamatus* Cass.; *ogbwă'*), thrushes (*Turdus saturatus* Cab.; *etĭ'tŏ'*), and night rails, *Himantornis* /121/ /Fig. 70 appears here in the original text/ *haematopus* (Tem.) Hartl. (*nkū'lungū'*), whose striking call is associated with the spring trap (1). Finally, monitor lizards are also trapped in these divices now and again.

1. The rail calls:

ma *kbwŏ́l'* *ekūid'*
I fall (in the) spring trap,

o sī — *kū*
right in, it falls shut (imitation of sound.).

or:
ma *kbwŏ̌l'* *ekūidi* *ma* *kūi.*
I fall in the trap -- I escape.

The *ekŭidi-esōdō* differs from the *osăb* only in that there is no fence, and hence it is necessary to attach bait. In it are placed /122/ bananas for lemurs and spotted palm civets, dead rats for the genet, fruit of the Tiliacea *Desplatsia dewevrei* Burset (fruit = *ngŏk* IV) for hamster rats and porcupines, and cassava for the latter as well as for squirrels and field mice.

A similar trap is constructed next to fallen tree trunks (*nkōk*) where game trails run beside them. Such a trap is then called *ekūidi-nkōk*. Here of course there is no bait.

The *aluṅa-ekūidi* (Fig. 70, Drawing 3) is a combination of two spring traps. A small quadrangular area is fenced in, with the exception of two openings, where the traps are placed in such a manner that one trap opens at the front and the other one at the back.

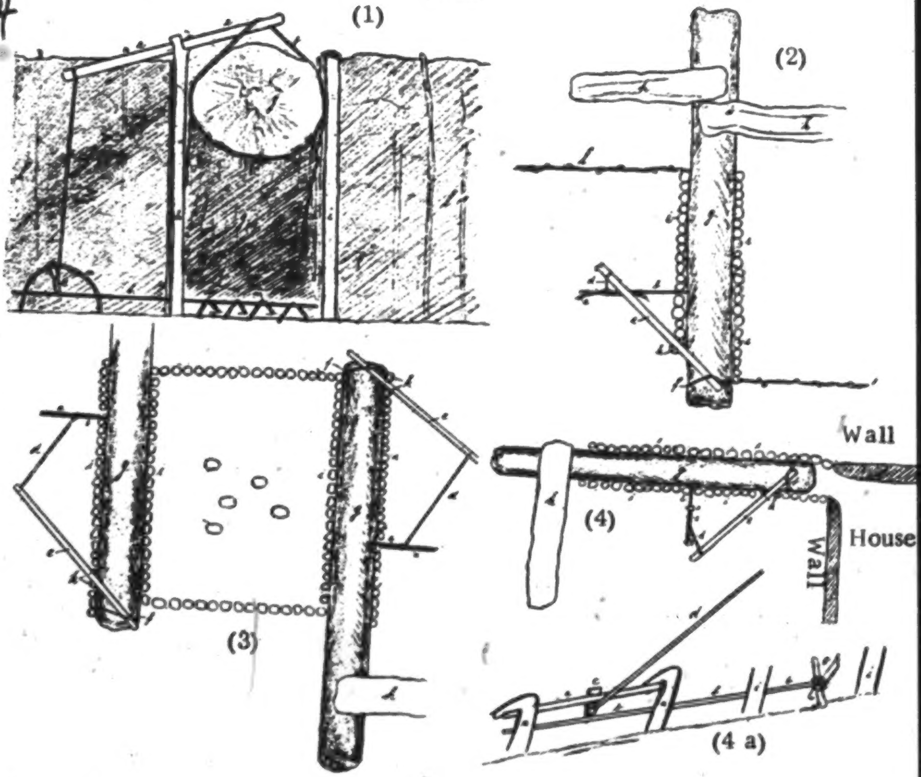


Fig. 70. Spring Traps
Drawings 1 and 2. Spring trap for game, osab, front view and groundplan. Drawing 3. Double spring trap, aluṅa-eküidi, groundplan. Drawing 4. Rat spring trap, eküidi-o-si, groundplan. Drawing 4a. Releasing device.

224 In the center of this area fruit of the Guttifera, nsă'ngǫ̆mǫ́ III, is placed as bait. The animals, hamster rats, porcupines, striped squirrels, and mice, see the fruit through the fencing, look for an entrance, and land in the traps.

The rat trap, ekũidi-o-si (o si, "below"), is also a spring trap, like the osă̦b, and is constructed from the outside against the rat holes at the corners of houses (Fig. 70, Drawings 4 and 4a). Bait is tied to the tip of the vice which extends into the corridor, as Drawing 4a indicates; when the rat gnaws on the bait, the vice is pushed out from under the clamp, and the trap closes.

While the spring traps that we have discussed so far are all very similar, we now come to a trap, the eküidi-o-jō'b (o jṓb, "above"), which from the outside looks quite different although it belongs to the same type. For we have here -- see Figure 71, Drawings 1 and 2 -- a combination of two lever systems which together support a spring beam and which are set up some distance above the ground. A raffia stalk, split in two lengthwise with the flat side (x) upward, is tied to the house wall either horizontally or vertically and fastened to it so that it extends into the room. Along its upper edge are placed two rows of raffia leafstalk strips (i), which represent the fence of the other spring traps, flanked by two forked props (k) on the side toward the interior of the house. The levers (e) rest on these forked props. Only one lever is held by the clamp whose releasing device is attached on the side to the raffia stick (see Drawing 2). The free end of the other lever is placed under the first. Both levers support a spring beam (g) which, therefore, in contrast to the other spring traps, is balanced over the corridor in such a way that the rat has access from both sides. This spring beam is pulled down by a beam (h) which is attached to it on either side by strings and suspended below the raffia stalk; this happens when the clamp device is released. Bait is attached to the device as in the case of the ekũidi-o-si. Usually /123/ /Fig. 71 appears here in the original text/ the trap is left standing awhile before the trigger device is installed, and cassava is sprinkled along the corridor so the rats will become accustomed to running over the trap. For the same reason it is not used for a time after it has caught a number of rats (1). /124/

1. The technical expressions of the

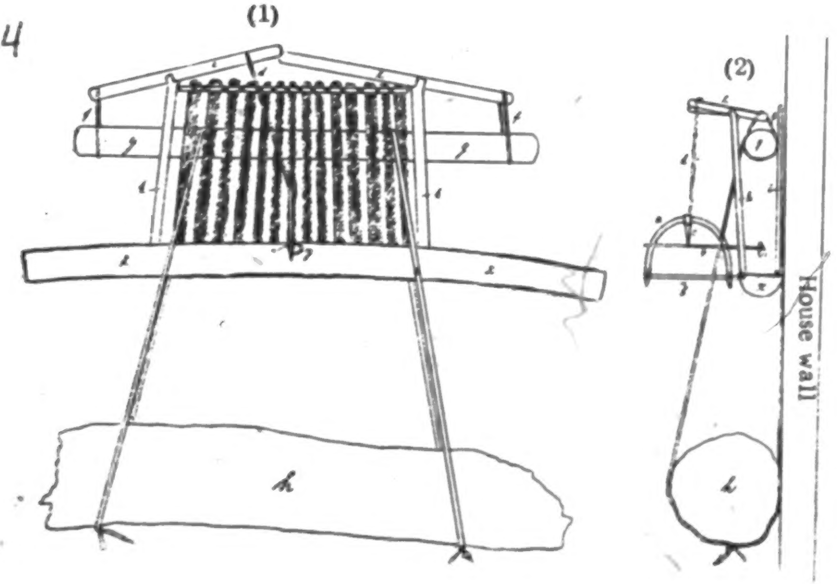


Fig. 71. Rat Trap, ekũidi-o-job.
Drawing 1. Side view. Drawing 2. Front view.

Pangwe for the various parts of the spring traps are:

(a) trap spring = ekŭ́'leyắ Ntum, ekuluga Fang, from a kulu = to bend;

(b) vice = mvŏ́negan Fang, from mvö'negan = the younger, that is, the trap spring is the older because it is the first that one has to plant in the ground and only then comes the vice;

(c) clamp = asŭ̧ń, from asŭ̧ń = the tooth;

(d) clamp string = nkō̧-asŭ̧ń, from nkō̧ = string, asŭ̧ń = tooth, clamp;

(e) lever = mbī́'meyă̆ I Fang, from a bīme = to strike, to close, also called mbō̆́n I;

(f) spring beam string = nkō̧-ekũidi, from nkō̧ = string, ekũidi = spring trap;

(g) spring beam = mvō̧k IV;

(h) weight beam = etsĭ̧̄dega Fang, tsĭ̧̄deja IV Ntum, from a tsīde = press down, weight down;

(i) spring beam fence = nzăbega
Fang, săbejă IV Ntum, from
a săb = to string together;
(k) lever prop = ata[k]-ekũidi, from
atak = forked stick;
(l) trap fence = ndšibega-osăb, from
a dšib = to shut, osăb = fence
spring trap;
(m) bridge in the corridor = akăn, from
akăn = floor;
(n) corridor = abōk, from abōk = lair.

3. Spring plates

The spring plate, akui, is a very simple trap. Instead of the corridor and the spring beams, it has only a raised plate (nka-akui) weighted down with lumps of lime or stones. The plate is made of rattan palm, Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum (nhāne), and falls down on the animals (smaller rodents) when they touch the vice which extends under the plate and is baited (cassava).

4. Spear trap (elŭn)

The spear trap is constructed for elephants in those places where the elephant spoor runs between two suitable trees. The trap consists of a heavy iron spear connected directly with the clamp by means of a rope and hanging over a branch in such a way that it strikes the elephant in the back of the neck when the latter touches the rope which is stretched out as an extension of the vice. Usually, the spear does not wound the elephant mortally; then the animal runs and frequently evades the trapper.

5. Simple noose snares

The following noose snares are distinguished.

1. Free noose
    (a) Ground noose (ašimă-o-si)
    (b) Tree noose (ašimă-o-job)

223 2. Hand noose or draw noose (nsŭm)

The ground noose, (ašīma-o-si) (o-si = below), Figure 72, is set especially on the trails of the dwarf buck, Neotragus batesi Winton (odžũe). It is fastened to a cross beam (a) resting on two well-concealed forked props (b). Other victims of the ground noose are gallinaceous birds (guinea fowl, francolins) and the night rail (Himantornis).

With great skill a whole number of noose snares are set in trees whose fruit is a popular food of birds, especially the Afzelia africana Smith (ovŏn). Such snares are called ašima-o-jŏ́b (o jŏ́b = above) and draw tight by themselves. Hornbills and the blue touraco, Corythaeola cristata Vieill. (kŭ́nŭ́k IV) are the main victims of this trap. Now and then a long-tailed monkey is also caught in it. /125/

The hand noose for parrots (nsŭ́m I), which is made of rattan string, is quite different from the previous two snares. It consists of a loop around a branch to which one end is tied while the other end extends down to the ground where a man holds on to it and pulls as soon as an animal sticks its head through the loop. The parrot is pressed against the branch and /Fig. 72 appears here in the original text/ can be seized. This parrot noose is especially used in the dense foliage of the Myrianthus trees (mangắme III Fang, engŭ́kŏ́m Ntum, Jaunde), which are perfectly suited for hiding and whose fruit is favored by parrots. Catching parrots is mainly [85] an occupation for boys, but adults also amuse themselves at it.

6. Draw traps

(a) Ground draw traps

224

The Pangwe distinguish no less than nine types of these, namely, the following.

I. Traps constructed over a pit
  1. ešũma
  2. nsọbọ̄ I Ntum, nsōk Fang, nsọbogọ̄ Fang
  3. ngă[k] -olăm

II. Traps without pits
4. ndăkiē, III
5. olăme-zê
6. viə̃n Fang
7. olame-nsį̌ṅ
8. efŭga, apfũ̜ǎ
9. ewuǎ̜s

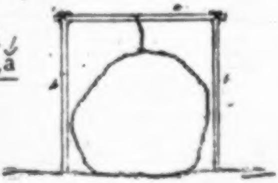


Fig. 72. Ground Noose, asima-o-si.

All these ground draw traps, just like the tree draw trap and the lemur trap, are distinguished by the fact that a short elastic stalk planted in the ground, the draw stick (miāge Fang), is held fast by the clamp, and as soon as it is released, it draws the noose tight as it springs up. The ground draw traps are, generally speaking, designed for larger game, like antelope, and differ from one another by slight variations in form and construction, by the presence or absence of a covered pit, which makes it more difficult for the animal to free itself, and so forth. The first three forms, ésūma, nsǒ́bo, and ngǎ̋[k]-olǎm, are closely related; each of them has a pit. /126/ /Fig. 74 appears here in the original, also Fig. 73/. As an example, we shall describe here in greater detail the ésǔma (Fig. 73). It consists of a strong, elastic stalk (f), to the top of which are attached a clamp (c) -- by means of a rope (d) -- and a noose (g), which in the case of these large traps is made of twisted raffia piassava. The clamp holds fast the draw stick, which is bent down when the trap is set up, by means of the releasing device already familiar from the spring traps (in the illustration it is attached on the side). The noose is set in front of the pit between the props (k) and is connected by a rope (h) to the trap spring which in many cases is double. Then sticks are laid across the pit onto the vice. The entire apparatus, especially the pit with the sticks and the part of the noose which is lying on the ground, is carefully covered up with dry leaves, etc. Furthermore,

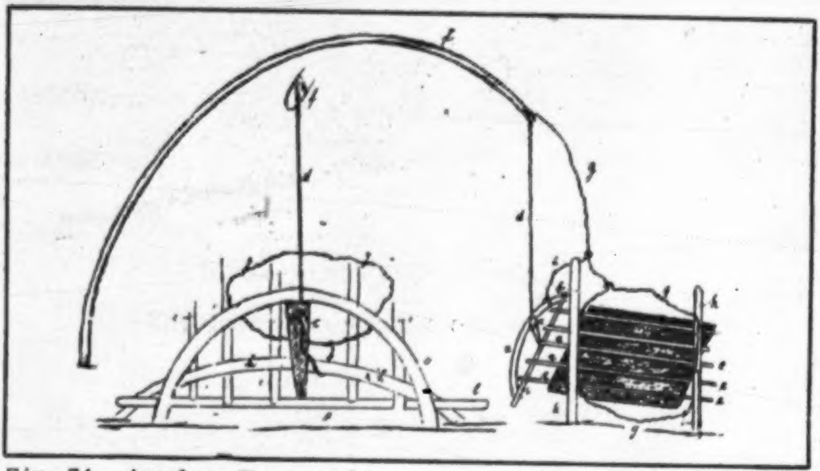


Fig. 74. Antelope Trap, nsobogo.

Fig. 73. Antelope Trap, esuma.

a special dry leaf is tied over the end of the draw stick at the point where the clamp rope and noose are attached to it. In short, the entire trap is skillfully made as invisible as possible to the game. Now, if an animal steps on the leaves, the sticks (e) press down the vice (b), the clamp (c) snaps up, and the draw stick with the noose, which tightens, springs up as far as the rope (h) permits. The trapped animal is thereby pressed against the trap stick and asphyxiated, especially since it is left hanging halfway down in the pit. Depending on its strength, the trap is suited for antelopes, boars, small leopards (Felis servalina Puch., ebĭɓ), civet cats, and genets.

The nsŏ'bogō (Fig. 74) differs from the above-mentioned trap only in that the noose is tied to the clamp rope near the clamp and is made to run under /127/ a prop (h), but moreover it is placed directly on the ground. For this reason, the animal is usually caught by its front legs in this kind of a trap.

The ngă'[k] -olam is -- so one might say -- a small nsō'bogo designed only for porcupines, and it is set by boys when they want to obtain quills for their little fishing hooks (ngă'k);

224 hence, its name. In it, however, duikerbok and guinea fowl are also caught.

We encounter another method of releasing the spring in the draw traps called ndakiẽ (Fig. 75) and the potamogale trap, olame-zẽ (Fig. 76). In these traps, the animal -- as in the spear trap for elephants -- pushes against a string which constitutes an extension of the vice (ndakiẽ), or it pushes against the vice itself (olăme zê). In place of the trap string, a gallows is frequently erected, as in Figure 75. The name ndakiẽ' signifies an iron house, i.e., a very firm house (ndă = house, ekiẽi = iron); at the same time, the use of the name varies, and in some regions it is extended to similar traps, such as the viẹ́n, for example. The olăme zê is designed solely for the peculiar potamogale (zê) Potamogale velox Du Chaillu. From the drawing (Fig. 76) the mode of construction will doubtless be apparent even without a description. /Figs. 75, 76 and 77 appear here in the original text./ A noteworthy feature, however, is the use made of the potamogale's characteristic habit of leaving its droppings at quite specific points along the river bank. These areas are surrounded by a semicircular fence (e), while the noose and the extension of the vice behind it close off the open side.

The trap viẹn (Fig. 77) is distinguished from the previous ones by the fact that the animal has to walk under the releasing device which is set up in the form of a tall gallows. As it walks through, it touches the string which is stretched from the /128/ /Fig. 78 appears here in the original text/ middle of the vice (at the top) to a post stuck in the ground (e) and in so doing releases the clamp device. In the case of this trap the ropes (h) again prevent the noose from springing all the way back. As regards the animals to be trapped, the vié n is exactly like the ešuma, the nsōbogo, and the ndakie; this doubtless explains why the name ndakie can be extended to these "antelope traps."

The olame-nsǐ́n (Fig. 78) is constructed on the model of the viẽn, except that it is always set up on a small rise of ground which is hollowed out under it. On the floor of the little hollow a rat is placed as bait. The noose is lowered into the hollow through a hole in the top, along with the rope attached to the vice and tied around the rat.

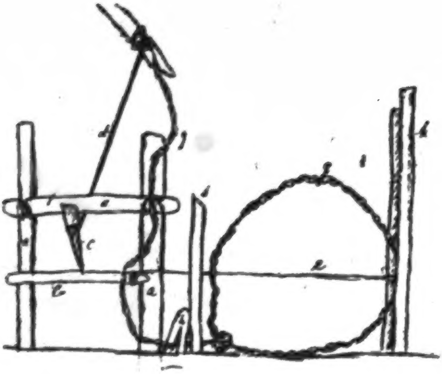


Fig. 75. Antelope Trap, ndakie.

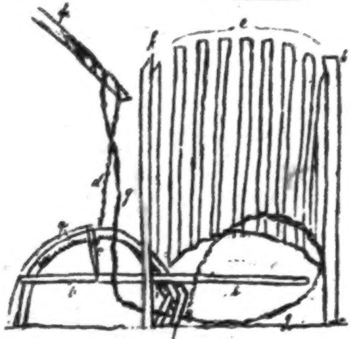


Fig. 76. Potamogale Trap, olam e ze.

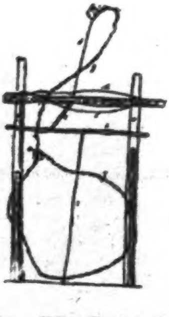
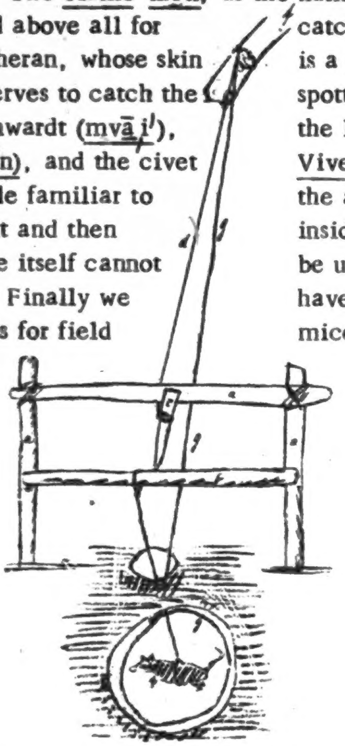


Fig. 77. Draw Trap
for Antelopes, vien.

224 The olame-nsǐ'n, as the name indicates (nsǐ'n = genet), is used above all for catching the genet, Genetta aubryana Pucheran, whose skin is a popular ornament. In addition, it serves to catch the spotted palm civet Nandinia binotata Reinwardt (mvā̧i'), the linsang Poiana poensis Waterhouse (ojǎn), and the civet Viverra civetta (zǒę'). The place is made familiar to the animal by putting rats first in front and then inside the hollow, if the animal's cave itself cannot be used.



223 Fig. 78. Genet Trap, olam e nsin.

Finally we have to mention two smaller draw traps for field mice and birds, respectively. These are the efǘga and ewuăs, where the noose is placed around the trap spring (a) with the help of a stick (i), so that the animal is jammed against the trap spring (see Fig. 79. The efǘga is designed for mice and other small rodents and, like the potamogale trap is set up in front of a fenced-in area with bait (cassava) inside. Furthermore, this trap is used to get rid of the troublesome Dryotriorchis batesi Sharpe (ngbăwu̯ă III Ntum) which steals chickens. "When the bird has caught a chicken and then drops it again as people rush toward it, the trap is quickly set up and the hen placed inside it; then the robber frequently comes back to get the hen and in the process gets caught in the trap." /129/

The bird trap ewuăs (wuăs = an imitation of the sound of the noose snapping shut), Figure 79, is constructed in exactly the same way, except that it lacks a fence and is designed for doves, guinea fowl, francolins, and night rails. /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text./

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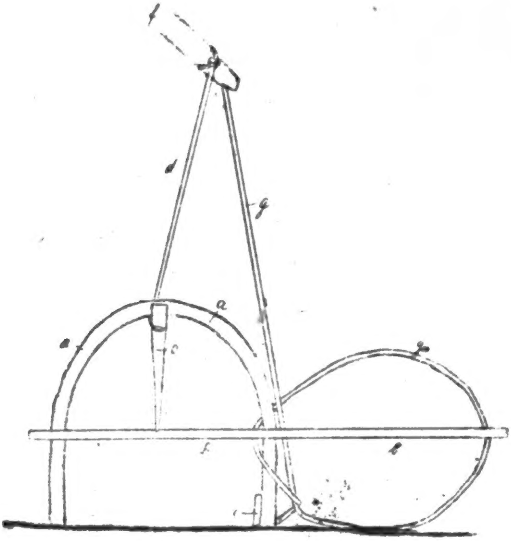

Fig. 79. Gressor Trap, ėwuas.

(b) Tree draw trap

The most frequently used trap for smaller birds is the tree draw trap, nkpwą̆s (nkpwą̆s = an imitation of the sound of a trap slamming shut or of the hand seizing the prey); Figure 80. It is set up in trees, and hence the trap spring (a) is tied to a twig (x). A novelty here is the fact that what is usually the free end of the vice, the extension (as we have called it), is clamped inside the fork of a holding pin (i) (ntĕbe-ŏsū III, from a tebe = to stand, ŏsū = before; thus, projection). Another innovation is the arrangement of the noose which is made from two ropes of the stalks of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui; stalk = ndĕ́nan). The two ropes are tied together at one end and fastened to a twig which takes the place of the draw stick (f); then a string (h) is slung around the branch (x) and tied loosely to the noose (g) (in y) so that it can be moved along it. The ends of the sling are now laid around the extension of the vice; the bait is tied on it at z, and the trap is ready. The bird that sits down on the vice at z

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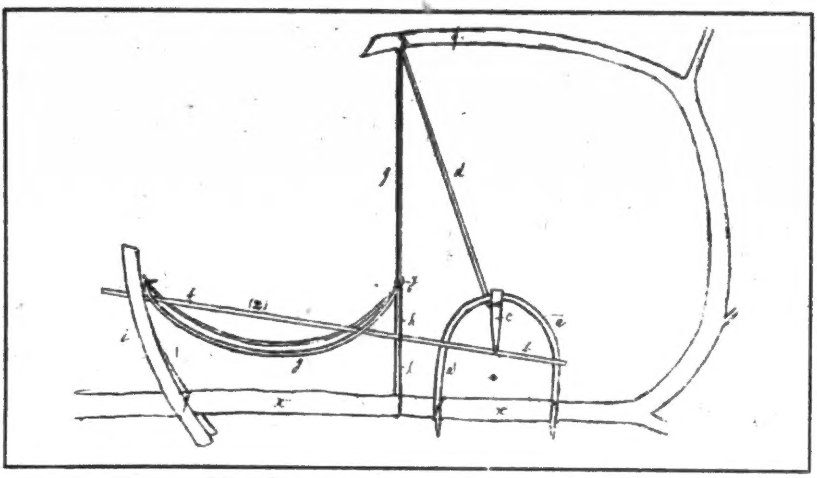

Fig. 80. Bird Draw Trap, nkpwas.

pushes it out from under the clamp; then the noose tightens, and the bird is held fast with its feet at y. Thus, it is usually caught alive.

[857] This bird trap is set up mainly by boys, since it brings in only smaller birds. As bait for honey suckers (Nectariniidae), they use, in addition to the blossoms of the Canna bidentata Bertol. (ekonežok), those of the Aframomum hanburyi K. Sch. (obă′[s]-adžom; blossoms = atsă[k]) and also of other Scitamineae. For weaver birds, Ploceus cucullatus (St. Müll.) (ngā′á), Spermospiza guttata Vieill. (kū-o-si), Spermestes poensis Fras., and Estrilda varieties (edžŏ′le), they use grasses like Panicum sulcatum Aubl. (ekǫk) and /130/ /Fig. 80 appears here in the original text/ Panicum ovalifolium Poir. (obūtebedzŏ′le); for species of Andropadus (otǭk) and other Haarvögel /Ger., ?/, like Phyllastrephus leucopleurus Cass. (ngǒ′medžā′) and the bulbul Pycnonotus gabonensis Sharpe (nkō′gĕlŭ′n), they use pepper Capsicum (okā́lăn) and Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth. (abŏ′medză′n). Among other birds caught in the tree draw traps we should mention: barbets (Capitonidae), for example, Gymnobucco bonapartei Verr. Hartl. (ovǒ Ntum), Buccanodon duchaillui Cass. (ejī′le), Barbatula species (omvŏg), and Trachylaemus purpuratus Verr. (ekū′kū′). Furthermore, in addition to the above-mentioned

223 Haarvögel /Ger.,?/, there are the Ixonotus guttatus Verr. (esă sa Fang, edžăndžă Ntum); the doves, Chalcopelia afra L. (odū') and Turtur semitorquatus Rüpp. (žūm); glossy starlings, species of Lamprocolius (kpă'ū); and hornbills, Lophocerus fasciatus Shaw. (okŏgbwā'i) and camurus Cass. (nkūkūe I, Ntum). The bait for all these birds is the fruit of the Euphorbiacea Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abui Ntum, abuí Fang), the Guttifera Haronga paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (atü i'), the Euphorbiaceae Antidesma laciniatum Muell. Arg. (okŏbezŏ) and Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efūö'le), the Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb., and other types of Ficus (etōb-o-jōb Fang, ejē'i Ntum). One can see traps set up everywhere in the Alchornea bushes or in clearings where the above-mentioned trees grow. If a boy takes a lot of trouble and watches over his trap, he can catch up to ten birds a day in one trap. He takes the prey home to his mother who keeps the larger birds, such as the doves, and lets the children have the smaller ones. /131/ /Fig. 81 appears here in the original text./

(c) Lemur trap

224 A very ingenious and well-contrived trap is the lemur trap, mbűṅ I, ebās I (from bū = to lie, mbuṅ = cross beam, that is, a beam that lies on top of another), so named because the trap is set up against a trunk laid over a clearing (Fig. 81). It (Fig. 82) is a genuine draw trap, with the draw stick (f), the clamp (c) and the clamp rope (d), and two nooses (g) attached to the draw stick. The device attached to the horizontal trunk (x), however, requires explanation. It consists of a piece of raffia leafstalk, one end of which is planted in the ground and the other end split and pushed under the branch in such a manner that the latter rests in the crack. As Drawing 2 shows, both halves are later tied together (y). Above the stem each of the two forked ends is cut in such a way as to form five prongs (Fig. 82, 1-5) of which the middle one (3) is left considerably longer than the others. Both center prongs (see Drawing 2) are connected with each other by a stick and thus form the gallows

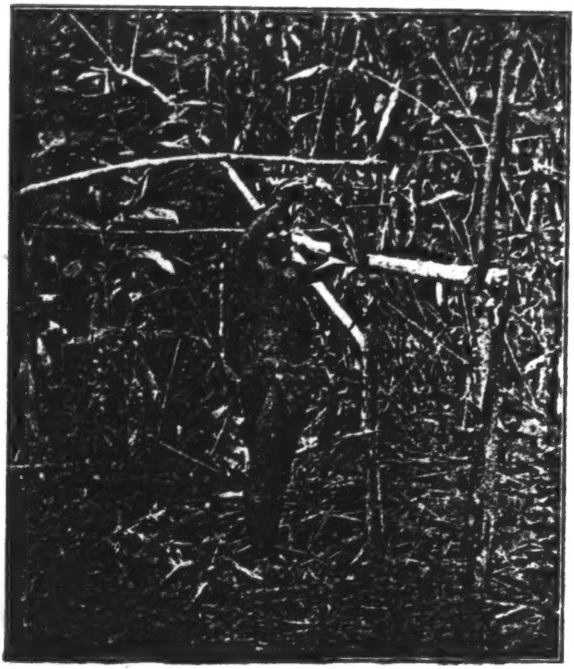

Fig. 81. Lemur Trap.

for the clamping device. Transverse sticks (n) are squeezed between the upper ends of the prongs and firmly tied down. The releasing device (Drawing 2, z) is then tied to the rope (y); this device is a network connecting (y) with the vice (b). The arrangement of the trap can be seen in Drawing 2. The clamp (c) goes around behind the gallows (a) and clamps in front between (a) and the vice; then a noose in each case passes in front between the cross sticks n 1 and n 2 and in the back between n 3 and n 4 (see Drawing 1) and is placed in the opening. A considerable amount of dry leaves covers up the trap. The animal climbs over the branch /132/ /Fig. 82 appears here in the original text/ in order to get from one side of the clearing to the other and lands in the trap which often works so well that the animal is seized by both nooses at once and pressed with great force against the little sticks.

This trap is set up primarily for nocturnal lemurs (1) and for

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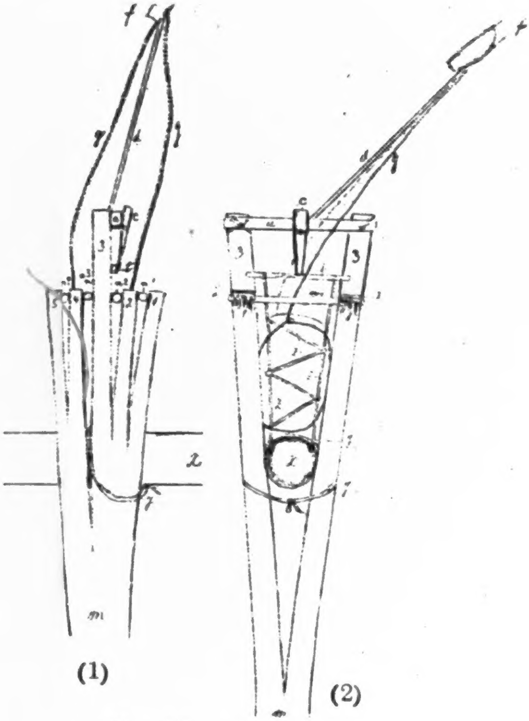
1. Potto, *Perodicticus batesi*



(1) (2)

Fig. 82. Lemur Trap.
Drawing 1: Side view. Drawing 2. Front view.

Winton (awū͡'n); Arctocebus aureus Winton (masatšī'di I and III); Spitznagelmaki /Ed., sharp-clawed lemur?/ Euoticus elegantulus Leconte (nsē'ī, I); Stumpfnagelmaki /Ed., blunt-clawed lemur?/ Sciurucheirus gabonensis Gray (emắm); and dwarf lemur Hemigalago demidoffi Fischer (ozǎm, odžǎm).

the spotted palm civet, Nandinia binotata Reinw. (mvāī' Fang, mvēī' Ntum) in a somewhat open area, for instance, a strip of

224 bushes along the trail where the animals go through them. A breach is made in the strip of brush and over it is placed the branch needed for the construction of the trap. Usually from three to seven traps are set up next to each other.

In addition, large traps of the same kind are used for long-tailed monkeys, and these are likewise set up in the forest only over paths or clearings.

7. Francolin trap

223 The francolin trap, ndǒŋ (Fig. 83), like the traps of the previous class, includes a draw stick, but the clamping device is a completely different type. The part of the trap on the ground is nothing more than a round, not very deep hole; in the wall of the hole and over against each other are stuck two horizontal raffia sticks (a) under which is pushed the clamp (c) with the noose rope (2) directly attached to it, like the trap nsǭbogō. The noose is laid around the hole. A few kernels of maize /133/ or groundnuts are scattered as bait around and in the hole. The francolin sticks its head into the hole and in so doing touches the clamp which flies up and at the same time draws the noose over the bird's head. Aside from the field francolin, Francolinus squamatus Cass. (ogbwǎ́), doves also are caught in this trap which is as simple as it is effective. /Fig. 83 appears here in the original text./

In passing I may mention that chickens, if they cannot be seized, are also caught by means of such a trap, erected ad hoc, or by a leaf bag in which a kernel of maize is placed. To get at the maize, the chicken puts its head inside the bag and is caught before it can free itself (1).

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2. In this case the same rope that is tied around the clamp is again used.

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1. Aside from those mentioned in connection with the spring trap, the technical expressions for the parts of the

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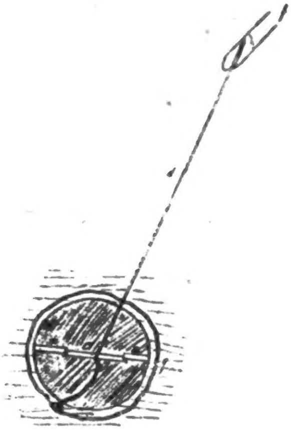

Fig. 83. Francolin Trap, ndon.

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draw traps are as follows:
(a) Trap spring = trap gallows (see under spring traps);
(b) Vice (see under spring traps);
(c) Clamp (see under spring traps);
(d) Clamp rope (see under spring traps);
(e) Clamp-stick poles or clamp-stick rope = ndā̰'nejă IV, ndḛ̆'mejấ' IV;
(f) Draw stick = miâ̰ge Fang, mḛ̄ē̦jă III Ntum;
(g) Noose = ekŏ'ĕ̦ Ntum, ekbwē̦ Fang, nkī̦b I;
(h) Noose holder = mbḛ̆'le-ekbwē̦ Fang;
(i) Noose prop = sūă̦-ekŏ'e̦ Ntum;
(k) Peg = engŏ̈n;
(l) Fenced-in area (with efuga, and so forth) = ndźī̦b I, from a dźī̦b = to close.

For the lemur trap:

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(m) Trap stick = ată̦k;
(n) Cross sticks = olí̦ Ntum, evḛ̂ Fang;

(o) Bait.

For the tree draw trap:
Branch on which the trap is built = obŏ̃mega;
(b) Clamp stick with its extension = otĕmejá;
(i) Clamp-stick holder = ntĕbe-osŭ̄ III;
(d) and (c) Clamp rope with clamp = okōlejă.

8. Bow traps

They have a form of the bow which draws a noose tight as it springs back. There are three kinds of such traps: /134/

1. ekiḗle;
2. bŏ́gŏ́ III;
3. bow trap of the Jaunde, ebāɓē.

The ekiḗle is the most widely known of these traps (Fig. 84, Drawing 1). The bow (b) is tied to a horizontal piece of liana or to a branch (a); two ropes are fastened to the lower end of the bow at (c), the clamp rope (d) with the clamp (e) and the noose rope which is tied in a slip knot to the other arm of the bow at (h). The clamp (e) presses a short vice (f) against the upper end of the bow and the clamp rope, and thus the bow is held up. On the lower end of the bow cassava is placed as bait, and a leaf bag is put over the whole thing. Additional cassava placed upon the liana is designed to familiarize the animal with the path leading up to the trap. If then an animal runs from there through the loop, it will touch the vice, the bow will be released, and this loop will be pulled tight. The trap is set up mainly in the forest for mice and other small rodents, and otherwise it is used in the house to catch rats.

The second bow trap of the Fang, bŏgŏ, is used for the same animals (Fig. 84, Drawing 2, a-c). It is even simpler than the ekiḗle. A leaf bag (b) is attached to one end of the bow; the ropes (c) and (d), which are tied to the other end of the bow, are run through this bag at various points. The foremost rope (b) is

224 placed as a noose around the opening of the bag; the back rope (*c*), which is supposed to bend the bow, is run through the hole drilled in the end of the bow for this purpose and is secured in back by means of a knot. Behind this rope -- if one looks from the front into the bag -- there is a piece of cassava (*e*) attached to a little stick. The animal gnaws through the rope in order to get at the bait; the bow springs back, and the noose is drawn tight so that the rat is pressed against the upper part of the solid leaf bag and strangled.

A very attractive and skillful invention is the bow trap of the Jaunde, *ebǎ'dě* (Fig. 84, Drawing 3). It is basically different from the previous traps mentioned. Here we see the clamp rope (*b*) attached to a bent strip of raffia (*a*) like a bowstring. As in the case of the francolin trap, the clamp rope is fastened with a knot in the middle of the clamp (*c*) and then extends beyond that into the noose. The latter ends in a knot to which is tied, in turn, the holding rope (*e*), which is slung around the bow. When the trap is set up, the tip of the clamp is pushed under the knot, while on the other side it is prevented from slipping back by means of a second holding rope (*f*) and by the pressure on the inside of the bow. As soon as a rat runs through the noose, the latter is pulled down slightly, the tip of the clamp slides out from under the /135/ /Fig. 84 appears here in the original text/ knot as well as from under the holding rope (*f*), and the noose draws tight around the rat.

The trap is set up in the house behind the beds or in other places where the rats like to run.

9. Civet trap (*nlíne-žöɛ́*)

The traveler in the Pangwe region will frequently encounter in the villages a rope stretched across the square. From the middle of this rope hangs a wooden dog bell or a bundle of empty snail shells. This is not, as one might think, a charm against evil spirits or a signaling device, but an alarm trap for civets, *Viverra civetta poortmannii* Pucher. (*žöɛ́* IV). At one end the rope is tied to an isolated pole; at the other it is fastened to a tree stump behind the owner's house. Suspended from it just a little above the ground is

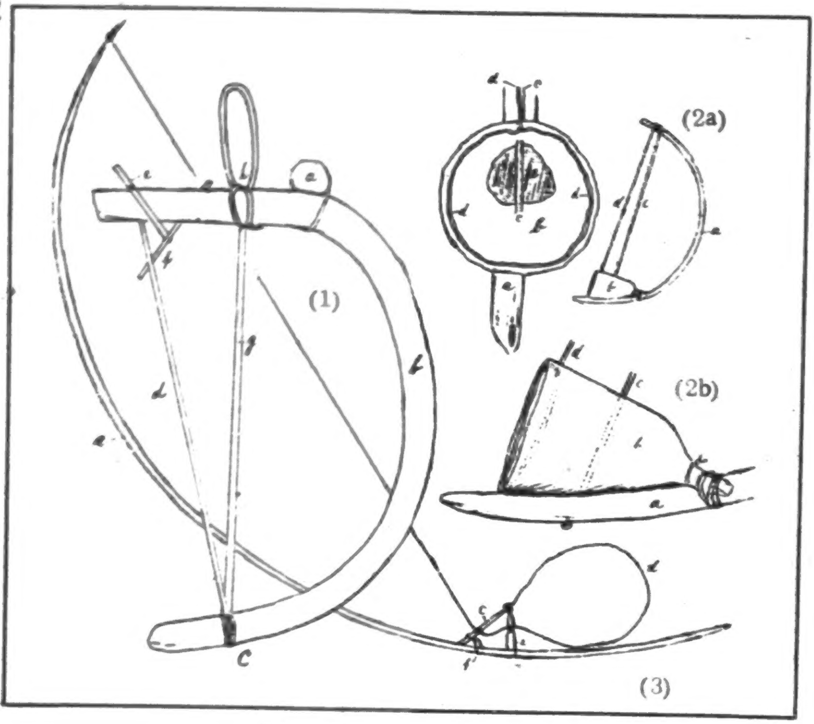

Fig. 84. Bow Traps

Drawing 1. ekiele. Drawing 2. bogo (a, the entire trap; b, side view of the lower part; c, the same from the front). Drawing 3. Bow trap, ebade.

/136/ a number of dead rats. When at night the civet snatches at a rat and in so doing pulls at the rope, the bell rings or the snail shells rattle and awakens the master of the house.

V. Hunting

Skillful as the Pangwe are as trappers they cut a poor figure when it comes to skill as hunters. They can never be called a hunting people; indeed, compared with the coastal peoples or even with the Pygmies, they are like pitiful Sunday hunters.

224 Only where there is great profit to be had, namely, in the hunting of elephants, do they take more trouble and hence achieve results [411] that are notable in view of the simplicity of their hunting weapons (flintlock with pieces of iron or a spear, Figure 85, as ammunition). For the rest, the Pangwe do not accomplish much even with better hunting rifles. For example, of the many Fang hunters equipped with modern rifles whom I had in my service in the course of three years, only one ever shot an antelope. Later, on the other hand, a Pygmy shot five antelopes in one week, and on one occasion two were shot in one day. The beautiful crown eagle, Lophoaetus [136] occipitalis Daud. (abǎ'jěk), and many other animals which because of their shy nature require a real huntsman were never laid low by my gentlemen hunters. Usually too easygoing to go into the forest alone, they love to carry on a loud, uninhibited conversation and laugh gaily on a hunting expedition, which of course soon gives them away to the game. Not just once, but many times it happened that my hunting companions, at the sight of the game that I was plainly observing, shouted with a voice that could be heard far and wide: "e ne nie!" = "he be him!" there he is!). Even today I still recall with amusement how my faithful Ajong Boka roused an unsuspecting long-tailed monkey -- I was just waiting for it to move into a position where I could get a better shot at it -- with a shout: "Massa, osok, osok!" (osok = red-tailed monkey), and how the frightened animal raced off in mad leaps.

Completely unaffected as the Pangwe are by principles of sportsmanship, their lack of success in hunting is of course the fault of the rifle or -- the woman (see Section 18, "Sexual Life"). Innumerable hunting and rifle medicines, to which I shall return in Section 13, force themselves upon us in confusing abundance. In addition to the major medicines (malǎn, aṅguṅgu) /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ associated with cult activities and carried out by the entire village, /137/ I have recorded about 100 minor medicines intended to put the individual man back on his "hunter's feet."

Among the various forms of the hunt to be discussed here, the lowest, the hunting drive, which after all entails nothing more than chasing the prey into traps, is the most highly developed. We must distinguish:

1: Tessmann--119 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

224 1. Drive of lower animals into baskets;

2. Drive of big game into nets.

In the drive for lower game living in caves, especially porcu-
285 pines (ngǔm), elongated baskets (nkǒ̦e'-ngǔm) made of the stalks
[824] of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui) are used (Fig. 86, Drawing 1). The baskets are placed at the various exits of the cave; at one of them the hunter stations himself and either sends a dog into the passage or beats the ground with a stick. The frightened animal flees to one of the remaining exits and lands in the basket where it gets stuck and, because of its quills, is unable to retreat rapidly. A man then rushes to the spot and kills the animal with his spear.

A second kind of basket, but correspondingly narrower (Fig. 86, Drawing 2), is placed outside ratholes. The animals are chased into the basket in a regular drive in which the entire youth of the village takes part, and there they are killed. These baskets are called nsǎn.

These rat drives, carried out with a great hullabaloo, are for the young what the drive of wild animals (nšǔ̦m I, abim) is for the adults. Game nets, frequently 16 meters long, are attached to one another and set up at suitable places in the bush to form what are often very extensive snares. The beaters chase the animals into these nets with the help of dogs that
[534] carry wooden bells (nkōle-myű I, myū̦ṅo IV, angǔ̦ṅ e myű, edū̦ṅ e myū, ongō̦lǎ'-myū, ekbwḗle), Figure 87, around their necks. The animals get tangled up in the meshes and are shot by the hunters stationed there. It should be added that this drive is a great undertaking and a general popular festivity, the details of which, however, I must forbear to describe. I shall only observe that in this manner a considerable number of antelopes and other game are caught, and
[411] the Pangwe deserve commendation for carrying out this undertaking with splendid success, since it is indeed not an easy job in the rough and impassable forest region. Even the driving of elephants into large

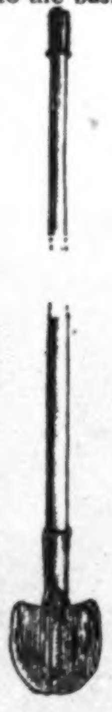

Fig. 85. Elephant Spear (fired from a rifle).

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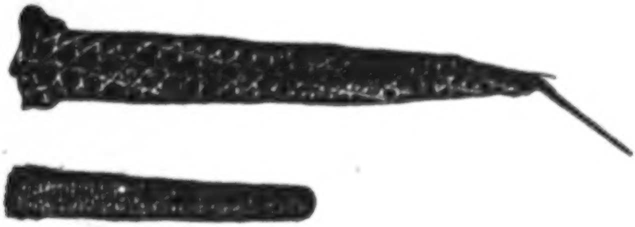

Fig. 86. Basket Traps.

224 fenced-in areas is not unknown to the Fang and is supposed to have been practiced more frequently in former times when the region was more abundant in these pachyderms.

The distribution of meat from the animals caught on the drives is regulated. If a huntsman, for instance, kills a wild animal in such a way that it dies on the spot, /138/ /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ he must give the meat of one forefoot to the first of his companions who appears on the scene. On the other hand, if the animal runs on, the first comer can lay claim to the entire forefoot, the second to the shoulder pieces (abá') (1) of one side, the third to the outside of the shank (ebŭ'n). Finally, the one who carries off the animal can claim the neck bones with some flesh (ebŏ̌ŏ́) (2).

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682 In view of the excitable and stormy character of the Pangwe, it is no wonder that many of them on such a hunting expedition, where the coveted, delectable tit (tit, "flesh" and "game") jumps

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1. From the stem bă, "to divide"; these pieces are usually divided first because the animal falls down to the ground (which, after all, is also common property) with its shoulders first.

[482] 2. For he also carries the animal around his neck (placed over his shoulders); abŏ̌́(g)e, bŏ̌ŏ̌ = to carry.

224 672 682 out from the bushes everywhere, completely lose their heads and start shooting blindly at anything that moves. On such occasions it very frequently happens that a wild Nimrod shoots a hunting companion or a beater. Hunting accidents are the order of the day and make the unfortunate huntsman responsible to the family of the person killed. In order to mitigate the situation, one excuses himself by hiding behind the belief that some "evil" people or sorcerers can transform themselves into antelopes and, weary of living, let themselves be shot in this way in order, even at the end, to place their enemy in an embarrassing position. The hunter declares that this was actually the case at the moment of shooting, that he saw an antelope, fired at it, and that then a person was lying there; he therefore is not guilty. This excuse is of little help to him in the matter since the victim's way of acting by no means releases the unlucky person from the obligation of paying blood money in the amount required for the person he has killed or wounded. Nonetheless, it does reduce his guilt.

224 Individual animals are also driven into the nets when the dog finds their fresh trail. The animal's location is determined by closing in on it in a circle (a kiṅ e tit), and with the help of the remaining villagers it is chased into the net. /139/

On a solitary hunting expedition (elȫ ṅá), the Pangwe -- as was mentioned in the beginning -- more or less break down. There is no special word for "hunter"; nyūǐ a ngā́ III "he who fires a flintlock," has to substitute for it. On the other hand, nsũ̌ẽ me III is one who "catches" animals and fish. Only a negligible number of the enormous quantity of animals to be hunted in this forested land is killed without the help of traps, nets, and beaters. Of larger animals killed without such help -- aside from elephants -- the most common are boars and leopards (1) because of their value. In former times buffaloes, found only along the large rivers (the Campo, etc.), were also hunted, and the hide was used for the well-known shields. Since the latter have become worthless with the introduction of the

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[435] 1. Formerly a leopard was worth as much as a woman.

flintlock, this motive for hunting buffaloes has disappeared, and the chase is too dangerous to hunt them only for the meat. The hunting of gorillas and chimpanzees is just as unprofitable, and with very few exceptions the people are unacquainted with hunting as pure sport. The Pangwe find it too difficult and onerous to stalk antelopes without fixed nets. Long-tailed monkeys, squirrels, and smaller birds are shot with the crossbow. Hunting long-tailed monkeys is an undertaking filled with variety, not too difficult -- even though many of the monkeys have very sharp eyes and ears -- and profitable (2).

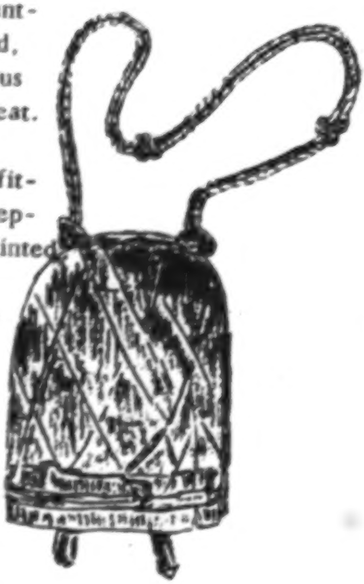

Fig. 87. Dog Bell.

[104]

2. The monkeys are lured by blowing on a perforated fruit, the monkey lure (eló̆ñ, elŏē), Figure 88, b; birds are lured with an instrument like a reed pipe, Figure 88, a, called zŏle IV, zŏ.

I consider it a mistake to assume that the crossbow is an imitation of European models. How would a Negro hit upon the idea of transforming the model to such an extent and furthermore, as is done by the Basá along the Sanaga, of continuing the front end into a shaft-like extension and at times putting on it a genuine spear head with a socket? I incline to the notion that the natives combined spear and bow and in this way independently created a new weapon. Finally, it is impossible to prove, except for the last decades of the nineteenth century, that any European influence

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177 at all penetrated as far as the Pangwe from the west coast of Africa. /140/

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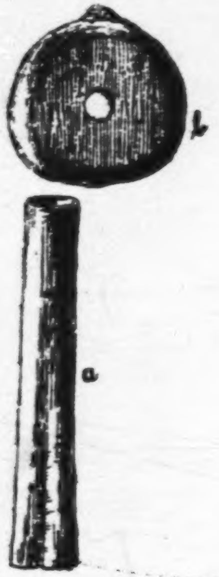

[224
534] Fig. 88. Lure Pipes: (a) for monkeys (instrument like a reed pipe); (b) for birds (drilled seed)

The crossbow (mbǎn I), Figure 89, consists of two parts, the shaft (ngpwǎ(s)-mbǎn) (1) and the bow (endži á-mbǎn)(2)

1. For the shaft the wood of the following three Anonaceae are preferred: Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. and Diels (amvim); Xylopia striata Engl. (mvṹma IV); and Hexalobus salicifolius Engl. (mepfáne III).

2. For the bow, because of their strong wood, the following are used: (1) Olax tessmannii Engl., Icacinaceae (elǒm); (2) Sapindaceae, Pancovia pedicellaris Radlk. and Gilg and Placodiscus opacus Radlk. (zǫ̌k); (3) Violaceae Rinorea longisepala Engl. (zǫ̌k-o-si) and R. welwitschii (Oliv.) O. Kze. (enǭ ežǒk); (4) Rubiaceae Randia acuminata Bth. and micrantha K. Sch. (ajīę); (5) Anacardiacea Trichoscypha spec. (žǒk e mekum); (6) Rubiacea Gardenia lateriflora K. Sch. (ebǎm) does not seem to be as suitable; (7) Polygalacea Carpolobia alba Don. (onǧn); (9) a Rubiacea (oyǒ). /(8) is omitted by the author./

411 with the bowstring. The shaft is a piece of wood between one and one and a half meters long, ovoid in cross-section. At the

411 upper end it thickens out into the shape of a duck's head and is provided with a square hole all the way through the wood for the bow. The remaining part of the shaft is divided into two leaves by a longitudinal cut down the side; of these leaves, the upper one, about a hand's breadth below the thicker end of the shaft, has a cruciform incision such that the transverse arm of the cross goes through only half the thickness of the wood and thus forms a notch, while the vertical arm of the cross goes through the entire thickness of the wood and thus forms a hole. A peg of the lower leaf, shaped to match, is fitted into this hole. The notch is designed for the bowstring. In front of it, a longitudinal groove from six to eight centimeters long is cut into the shaft; this is filled with beeswax and is where the arrow rests.

In order to draw the crossbow, one takes the shaft under his right arm, plants the knee firmly against the bow, grasps the bowstring with his hand, and draws it into the notch. In so doing, the peg, and with it the entire lower leaf, is pressed slightly downwards.

In the shooting position (Fig. 90) one raises the crossbow to shoulder level, supports it approximately in the middle with the left hand, and with the right hand presses the two shaft leaves together in the back. In this way, the peg moves into the hole and forces the bowstring out, propelling the missile with great force. /141/

/Fig. 89 appears here in the original text./

411 824 The short arrows (ebeí), Figure 89 g, which are carried in attractive quivers (kū,lă IV) made of animal hide (Figure 89 f) or in little bark boxes, are made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and split just before the lower end, so that /142/ /Fig. 90 appears here in the original text/ a triangular piece of leaf (ndū́-mbăn IV) from the Menispermacea Penianthus longifolius Miers. (ndū́-mbăn), more rarely from the Flacourtiacea Lindackeria dentata (Oliv.) Gilg (nŭm e ndū́) (1) and, in case of extreme need, from the Sarcophrynium,

1. nŭm = man, that is, male ndū́ (mban).

[278] can be pushed into it to give it balance in flight. The tip is poisoned with a salve made of pulverized Strophanthus seeds (2).

2. Probably Strophanthus kombe Oliv. (enPe).

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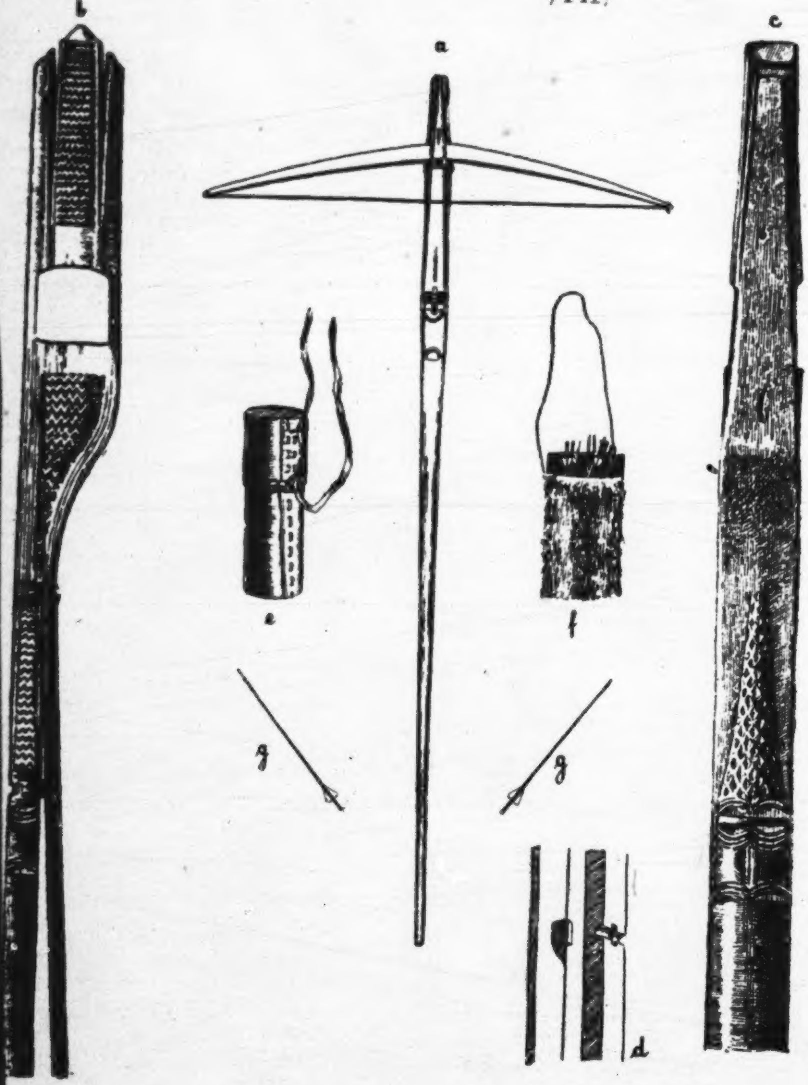

Fig. 89. Crossbow
a, seen from the top; b, upper part of the shaft, side view; c, the same from below; d, releasing device; e, bark box for arrows; f, quiver; g, arrows.

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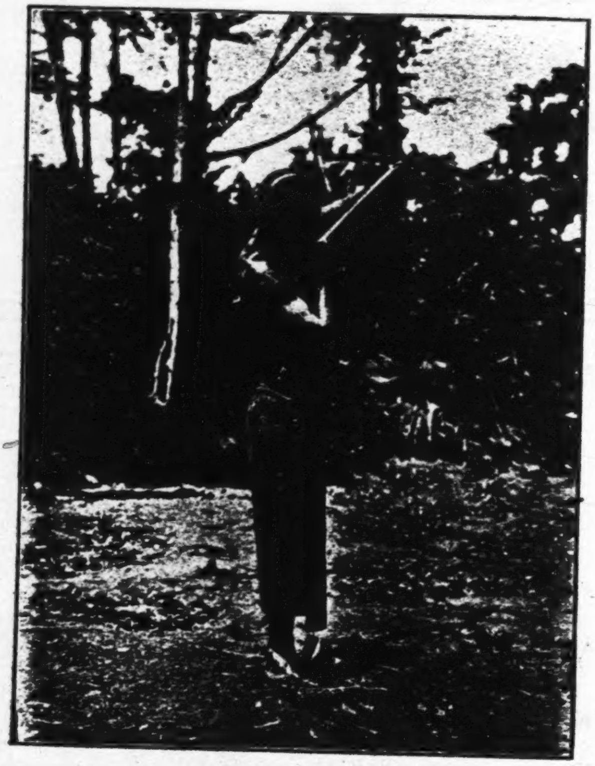

Fig. 90. Hunter with a Crossbow.

411 Although this weapon is much more dangerous in the hands of the natives than a muzzle loader, it is nonetheless never used in war, and even before the introduction of the rifle is not supposed to have been a military weapon. /143/

Section 6

000

Staple Foods and Indulgents

1. Staple foods. Raw materials: meat diet (human flesh, edible higher and lower animals); plant diet (wild plants with edible leaves, fruit); spices (pepper, salt and methods of obtaining it); oil;

000 arrangement of the kitchen. Kitchen and cooking implements (grindstone, grinding board, plantain peeler, basketwork plate, stirring spoons and other spoons used by the women, cooking pots). Preparation: 1) cassava (cassava rolls, cassava cutlets, boiled cassava roots, pulverized cassava boiled in a leaf bent in the shape of a stirrup, steamed cassava); 2) plantain; 3) groundnut (groundnut sauce, groundnut bundle, groundnut mush, groundnut soup); 4) ngon; 5) maize (corn on the cob, maize soup, maize bread, maize mush). Other vegetables and meat. Meals. Eating. Tableware, eating spoon and its forms.

2. Beverages and indulgents. Beverages: water, drinking vessels, water liana. Indulgents: sugarcane juice, banana wine, palm wine (distribution of the palms used for making palm wine, quality of palm wine, appearance and taste, methods of obtaining it and keeping its quality). Indulgence. Tobacco (varieties of the tobacco plant, smoking, tobacco pipes, care of the tobacco plant, treatment of the leaves).

262 One of the greatest physical pleasures for the Pangwe is to eat meat (tit; "boiled meat," nnīă,man e tit, from a niǎm, "to boil"). From man down to the smallest termite, scarcely anything seems inedible to him.

266 184 It is considered a fact that the southern Pangwe occasionally eat human flesh (Fig. 91). The Pangwe as a whole, however, cannot be called anthropophagous. Among the northern subgroups there is nowhere any report of cannibalism, and the natives maintain that even in former times cannibalism was unknown among them. Among the central Fang in Spanish Guinea and in the French region, on

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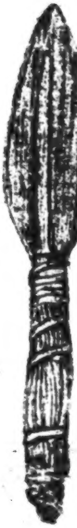
[673]



the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

[177]

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūkeśŏ̃n) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŭmekūkūī), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭn; plural, biŭn, mŭṅ), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŏṅ I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

262 The names for the various parts of the slaughtered animal (goat) can be seen in Figure 92.

Among invertebrate animals, the following are eaten: the larvae (*fǒs* IV) of the palm weevil *Rhynchophorus phoenicis* Fabr. and of the rhinoceros beetle *Angosoma centaurus* F. Pl. (larva = *akŭ̧m*); even the large elephant dung beetle *Copris* (*ejā̧'žok*, Jaunde) by the Jaunde; 21 different kinds of caterpillars, mostly *Saturnidae* (*nkū́ṅ* I = edible caterpillar); dragonfly larvae and termites (*sûme* IV Ntum, *kǎp* Jaunde); common crabs and shrimp; snails, with the exception of Limacidae; and a river mussel.

Of the lower animals mentioned, the rhinoceros beetle larvae, which live in the leafstalks of the raffia palm, deserve to be noticed by Europeans. They taste very good fried and may indeed almost be regarded as a delicacy (one recalls the *cossus* /Ed., a kind of larvae under the bark of trees/ of the Romans!). Even the termites might be a tasty dish if the unpleasant long wings could be removed. In the Mwele region near Simekoa I saw termite nests of the variety called *kǎp* carefully fenced inside the plantations. As they fly out in great numbers, they are caught in baskets; some of them are eaten alive with the wings, and some of them are prepared by the women. They taste like raw eggs, and if they were baked into some kind of bread, they would not be at all bad, if it were not for the fact, as I mentioned earlier, that the wings are an undesirable accompaniment.

If the Pangwe were not so deficient in hunting skill, if they did not have a genuine horror of slaughtering their domestic animals, and if they were to set traps somewhat more industriously and regularly, /145/ they would not suffer any dearth of fresh meat in view of the abundance of game in their land, but as it is, plants chiefly make up their diet.

222
262 The cultivated vegetables have already been mentioned in the previous section. /Fig. 92 appears here in the original text./ Under ordinary circumstances wild vegetables are only a part of the regular fare, but during periods of famine or on other occasions when food has become scarce, these plants frequently serve as staples for the Pangwe.

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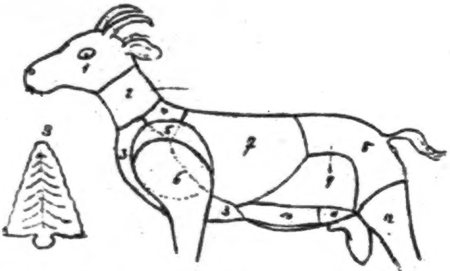

Fig. 92. Names of the Cuts of Meat in a Slaughtered Animal:

(1) head = *nlo*; (2) neck = *kiṅ*; (3) breast = *ekokob*; (4) lower neck = *engut*; (5) joint = *aba*; (6) blade and front leg = *enam*; (7) back piece = *epfa-ebok*; (8) rump = *oduk*; (9) flank = *mvōbe*; (10) belly = *abum*; (11) pieces above the genitals = *ekila*; (12) shank and hind leg = *abo*.

272
262 Among palms, we should mention especially the oil palm, the raffia palm, and above all *Ancistrophyllum*, whose innermost leaves (palm cabbage) are eaten; of Begoniaceae we should mention *Begonia poggei* Wrbg. (*esăṅ e kọ̄ě* Ntum) and *Begonia ciliobracteata* Wrbg. (*esắṅ e kạ̄'da*); of Amaranthaceae *Celosia argentea* L. (*num engŏṅ*, *num afụṅ*), *Celosia laxa* Schum., etc. (*num e fŏ'lọ'm*), and *Pupalia lappacea* L. (*num e kọ̄lọ́'t*); of Acanthaceae *Justicia insularis* T. And. (*fẹ̄i*), *Endosiphon obliquus* Clke. (*num ndzẹ̄i*, *masămengụ̆mo* III), and *Pseuderanthemum nigritianum* (T. And.) Radlk. (*ndzẹ̄i* I); of Urticaceae *Urera laurentii* de Willd. (*mfọ̆s* I) and *Fleurya aestuans* (L.) Gand. (*ngūkụ̆'n* IV); of Euphorbiaceae *Micrococca mercurialis* (L.) Benth. (*otẹ̆k*); of Tiliaceae *Corchorus olitorius* L. (*ngbăbe-lọ̆'mo* IV); of Melastomataceae *Dinophora spenneroides* Bth. (*esăṅ-eli*) and *Dissotis decumbens* (P.B.) Tr. (*osisắṅ-bongọ̆'n-b'ojě'k*); of Moraceae *Myrianthus arboreus* P.B. (*mangă'me* III Fang, *engukọ̆'m* Ntum, Jaunde); of Araceae *Rhektophyllum mirabile* N.E. Brown (*ndĕ's* IV, *klẹ̄s* IV); of Dioscoreaceae *Dioscorea prehensilis* Bth. (*esắṅ*); and finally, of ferns (*zŏ́ṅ* IV), in particular *Dryopteris*

222 tomentella C. Chr., Dryopteris megaphylla (Met.) C. Chr. (mejȁ
262 m'abǒk), Dryopteris parasitica (L.) O. Ktz. (undúndu akō),
Dryopteris gongylodes (Kuhn) O. Ktz. (engǎs), Stenochlaena
guineensis (Kuhn) (nkǎdenā́ III), Alsophila camerunensis Diels
(ezǐzǒ́n-ošǚe), and Diplazium silvaticum (Borg.) Sw. (esě́t).

245 Fruits are cultivated very little. In this category the
262 banana is the only native of any antiquity. The following have
been recently introduced: the pineapple (nkōkajǎ́ṅ I Fang,
ekaṅemvě́lě Ntum) (1), which is scattered over the entire territory

1. nkōk = sugar, ajǎṅ = Liliaceae,
Cyperaceae; ekǎṅ sedge (from the
Mwele), because of the leaves which
are similar to those of the Cyperaceae.

although planted only in small numbers; the papaya Carica papaya (pȍ'pǒ́ Jaunde, adžǎbentǎṅgan Ntum, Fang) (2), which has scarcely

2. ádžǎb – Mimusops djave (Lan.)
Engl.; e ntǎṅgǎn = of the Whites.

passed beyond a narrow coastal strip and whose little trees can be counted; small, bitter lemons, Citrus /146/ limonum Risso (olǒ́s Fang, alǒs Ntum, ngǒambǎ́ṅ IV); and oranges that are almost inedible for Europeans.

Coconut palms (mbǎ́ṅ I, njǒmō I, Ntum, Fang; myǔ́ndě́ IV Jaunde) are to be found only along the coast and even there only in small numbers.

The native "bush plum," Pachylobus edulis E. Don., var.
mubafo Engl., Burseracea (asǎ́ Ntum, ošǔ́nǎ Fang), which is found
only in or near villages, may be cultivated. The attractive lilac-
[252] blue or beautiful rose-colored fruits are roasted on the fire, and the
yellow, quite tasty meat of the fruit is eaten warm.

222 All the other fruits eaten by the Pangwe grow wild. Related
262 to the bush plum in shape and in the taste of its fruit is Pachylobus
fraxinifolius Engl. (asěǎ; fruit, sěǎ IV); the fruit is prepared in the

222 same manner. The fruit of the Sapotacea *Mimusops djave* (Lan.) 262 Engl. (*adžǎ′b*; fruit, *ebǫ̌n*), which contains oil, is very important. It resembles a large apple; the jelly in which the two to four seeds are imbedded is very sticky, but quite tasty. The seeds are used in the preparation of oil. Next to these, *Irvingia barteri* Hook. f., Simarubacea (*andǫ̌′k*; fruit, *ndǫ̌′k* IV) is of great importance. Strangely enough, the Pangwe do not value the juice of the fruit's yellow meat, which is extraordinarily fragrant and refreshing, on the condition, to be sure, that the fruit is just at the right state of ripeness. Indeed, in contrast to the coastal tribes, they attach little importance to many forest fruits (for instance, the fruit of the cardamom, of the palm *Podococcus barteri*, and others) and do not know how to make use of them. The nourishing contents of the [252] kernel of the *Irvingia barteri* are eaten after being dried or worked into a kind of mush. The Pangwe are incapable of preparing as tasty a sauce from the fruit as that made by the Bassá; the nut bread of the Mpongwe is also unknown to them. Other important edible nuts are *Coula edulis* Baill., Olacinacea (*ewūǫ′mō*, Fang; *ewũē′me*, Ntum; fruit, *kō′mō* or *kũẹ′me*); *Panda oleosa* Pierre (*afǎ′ne[k]* ;fruit,*fǎne[k]* and a variety unknown to me (*andǭ′* ; fruit, *ndǭ′* IV). Very tasty and refreshing fruit is supplied by the following trees: Burseracea *Pachylobus macrophyllus* (Oliv.) (*andǒtǫ′m* Ntum, *atǫ′m* Fang; fruit, *ndǒtǫ̌′m* IV Ntum, *tǫ′m* IV Fang); Anacardiaceae *Trichoscypha* spec. (*amyũt*, fruit *myũt* IV; and *engǫ̌ṅ*, fruit *ngǒṇ*); the pulp of various *Landolphia* varieties, namely, *Landolphia ochracea* K. Sch. (*ayǔ′m*), *Landolphia piriformis* Stapf (*dzǎ* III), and two other varieties (*efǒfǫ′do* Fang and *kǫ′mo* III), in which the seeds are imbedded, is somewhat sour but quite refreshing. All the remaining fruits -- inso-far as I have tasted them -- have scarcely any special charm for the European; indeed some, like *Laccodiscus* and *Pseudospondias*, have a downright horrible taste and are -- as they say in West Africa -- "good for blackmen, no good for whitemen." Their names are: *Parinarium tessmannii* Engl., Rosaceae (*efō′t*); *Chrysophyllum tessmannii* Engl., Sapotaceae (*mbǎ′m* I); *Pachylobus tessmannii* Engl., Burseraceae (*nga-angǒlǒngǒ′*); *Laccodiscus spinulosus dentatus* Radlk., Sapindaceae (*afũ′lǔṅ*); *Pseudospondias microcarpa*

222 262 (Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofǒs); Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl., likewise (angǒkǒn); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā'i); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abě); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǒn, tǫmok); Ricinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezisǎ'ñ); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangǎ'me III Fang, engǔkǒ'm Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simarubaceae (alǒ'b); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (akǎk e sǎ'ñ); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Lauraceae (dzǎ-odžidžik or bodžǎbodžidžík); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abě-osǔe); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (abǐn e ndžik); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apfǒ'n); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebǒm eli); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alū'mǎ, alǔ'ma, and akǔndǔm); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamvǐne); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adžǒm; fruit, esǔn) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

263 249 Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found indispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okālǎñ IV, undǔndǔ III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

263 436 258 Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

258 824 The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by Plate 10: Halopegia acurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkǒñ I) and

258 Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Araceae (ebăngabănga).
824 Furthermore, the fronds of the raffia palm are used to a lesser extent. In the Fang region Halopegia and Cyrtosperma are always used together, never one exclusively; in other areas, for instance in the Ntum region, the following swamp plants are also used: the Loganiacea Anthocleista zenkeri Gilg (ajīnebe-nzăm III); the Zingiberacea Renealmia alborosea K. Sch. (adžŏmmekūm); the Urticacea Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don. (să[s]-džăm); the Acanthacea Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. (ebūgebŏ́n); the Aracea Anubias heterophylla Engl. (andăk); a Composita (elŏ[k]-osūe); the Commelinaceae Palisota schweinfurthii C.B. Cl. (epfūpfūi-zăm) and Pollia condensata C.B.Cl. (ajăn-osūe); and in addition, where swamp plants are absent, the Marantacea Phrynium confertum (Benth.) K. Sch. (nkŏn afá'n I) and the climbing Aracea Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndĕ's). /148/

258 462 To get salt the men go into the swamp (zăm), cut down the salt-producing plants, and let them lie in the sun for a month to dry. Then they are brought under a shelter erected in the vicinity; the leaves and leafstalks are burned in an open fire. The plant ashes, dirtied with the remains of the logs, are carried into the village and kept on the loft above the fireplace in the house for three weeks to dry. The men's last job here is the making of a large
285 funnel which they crudely plait (ngăn nkū IV) from the stalks of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkŏmokŏmo I). All further work is done by the women. The latter set up the funnel, which they prop up with poles inside or outside the house, and line it with leaves of Sarcophrynium in such a way that the lowest leaf -- folded together in the form of a funnel -- fits just into the tip and the other leaves cover the funnel wall like roof tiles. The funnel is
828 closed off below by a filter consisting of a ball of grass, Paspalum (obūt), or leaves of the Phytolacca dodecandra C. Her. (atŏt) (1); then the ashes are put inside the filter, water is poured on them, and

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1. From the stem tŏ, "run through, drip through," because the brine has to drip through the herbs.

258 this drips fairly rapidly through the filter into a vessel placed under it. The whole thing is left standing one night; in the morning a little fresh water is added in order to draw out the last of the salt, and then the yellowish-brown brine so obtained is dried until all the salt (nkú I) is out (2). /149/

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2. An examination of the salt, on which Mr. W. Lenz of the Pharmaceutical Institute of the University of Berlin gives us a report, yielded the following results: "The bush salt itself had a brown color and a moist, granular appearance. It had a strong salty taste; its solution reacted strongly alkaline. The chemical analysis carried out by Mr. Regenstein yielded the following composition:

43.33%	KCl (potassium chloride)
27.50%	K_2SO_4 (potassium sulphate)
16.26%	K_2CO_3 (potassium carbonate)
0.85%	$NaCl$ (sodium chloride)
8.72%	H_2O (evaporation at 180° Centigrade)
3.34%	insoluble (difference)
100.00%	

The potassium was separated from the sodium as potassium platinic chloride. In the insoluble residue the following were detected: calcium, magnesium, iron, aluminum, manganese, phosphates, silicates, and carbonates, and 0.7% of the salt SiO_2 (silicon dioxide) was determined.

The high content of chlorides and sulphates in the bush salt is striking, as well as the use of the salt mixture consisting predominately of potassium salts, for spicing the food, in other words, its use in place of cooking salt."

262 In addition to the spices, the Pangwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alĕn) and the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźăb), but it is extracted so rarely that its use in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the skin. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I come to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe woman is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the suspension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mwai this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully arranged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual to be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the daily fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little Pangwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fire. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife brings the necessary logs from the
312 plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likewise available in great quantities;
415 it merely has to be taken from the river in calabashes (ndǒk IV) or -- among the Ntum and Okak -- in earthenware water flasks (Fig. 92a), Pangwe esǖgă (hence the name sǖk, an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poured in; hence also a-sǒk "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the previous section.

412 The kitchen utensils of the woman are very simple. The grind-
252 stone (akǒk) and the little round rubbing stone (ngǒk IV) that goes with it are found everywhere. The grindstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done on it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels in front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewhat more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed on four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it in appearance. Groundnuts, ngon, and so forth are rubbed to a powder by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate which has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (evǐn-ndǒk, efeí-ndǒk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andǒ́k; fruit, ndǒ́k IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this plate is a hard fruit (asǒ́k), round as a ball.

415 252 The Pangwe woman very tidily removes the remains of the pulverized nuts or kernels from the grindstone by means of half the shoulder blade bone of some animal, such as a monkey (Fig. 94 a), a piece of raffia stalk, or a tree mushroom (Fig. 94b). Only rarely does she do this by hand.

412 252 For pounding cassava leaves and other vegetables, as well as for removing the meat from the fruit of the oil palm, a pestle is used in a wooden trough. The pestle (ntú'm e mbǒk) has a knobby enlargement either at both ends or at only one end /150/, and the trough (mbǒk I) usually has the shape of a canoe with one or, more rarely, two handles (Fig. 95). In the Mwai and southern Fang region one can find larger wooden troughs of a quadrangular shape and small wooden troughs with or without /Fig. 92 a appears here in the original text/ handles (Fig. 96), endǒn.

Plantains are peeled with a plantain peeler (mbǒb I), Figure 97, with which the skin is chipped into pieces and scraped off. The peeler consists of a narrow piece of raffia leafstalk, and it is often attractively decorated with carved patterns.

415 The shallow basketwork plate (džǎd; plural, biǎd) -- see Section 8 -- which we have already discussed among the agricultural and fishing tools, also plays an important role in the house and kitchen, where it serves simultaneously as bowl, dish, plate, and so forth. The women have a large selection of the bigger plates (džǎd) and smaller plates (ovǒk) of this kind on hand. Sometimes one also sees wooden plates or, more accurately, wooden bowls of the same shape as the basket plates (1).

[824] 1. Made from the wood of the Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), Apocynacea, or of the Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn. (dum).

The kitchen spoon or stirring spoon (mbǒb I, ebǒm), which must be strictly differentiated from the eating spoon, /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here in the original text/ is carved out of wood (Fig. 98) and is used for stirring food, mixing vegetables, and dividing the mush.

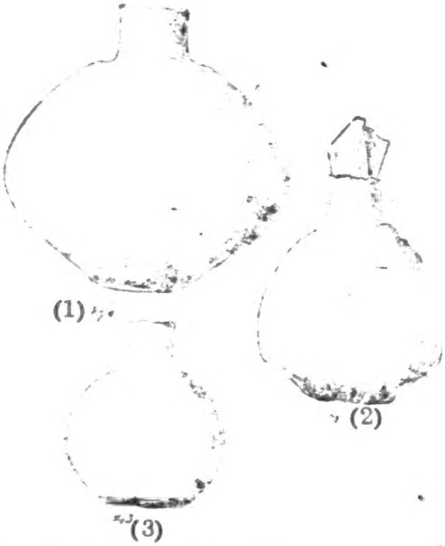

Fig. 92 a. Clay Water Flasks.

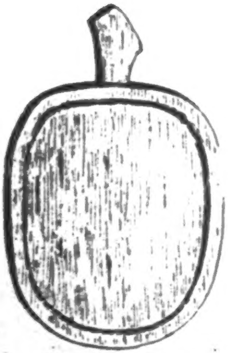

Fig. 93. Wooden Plate for Pulverizing Irvingia Kernels.

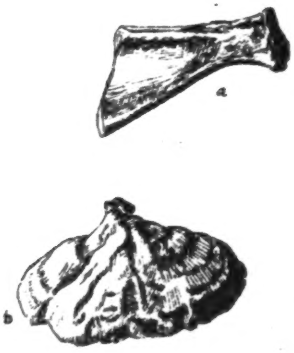

Fig. 94. Shoulder Blade of a Monkey (a) and a Tree Mushroom (b) for Cleaning the Grindstone.

415 The eating or serving spoons, with which the woman tastes the food during cooking and ladles it out of the pot at mealtime, are kept above the fireplace. /151/ /Fig. 95 appears here in the original text./ Such spoons have various shapes; the simplest is a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the form of a spoon and used only once. This leaf spoon is called ntŏ́ño I. The calabash spoon (egbwắs) represents a higher stage of spoon, as does the snail spoon (ebŏ́ña, ekōkŏ́e), Figure 101. The calabash spoon is made from a small fruit of the calabash gourd (Fig. 99 and 100) which has been cut in half through the middle; the snail spoon is made from the [321] large Achatina marginata Sw. (kōĩ́) by cutting out a piece of its shell. These are the women's spoons for everyday use, and as such they correspond to the men's wooden eating spoon (tǫk). Women never use ladling spoons made of wood.

The most important kitchen utensil is the cooking pot (myé I, vīŏk; plural, lōk) made of clay (vīŏk), of which each woman keeps a number of larger ones (myé, vīŏk) and smaller ones (obĕ́bḗ) on the pot loft (akăń e myé). Through the trading companies, iron pots [177] with three feet (mēkŏ́ne III) have already spread throughout the land. /Fig. 96 appears here in the original text./

262 After these general preliminary /152/ observations, I shall go on to a description of the methods of preparing /Fig. 97 appears here in the original text/ the principal food plants. Those of greatest importance as staple foods will once more be listed here in order: cassava, plantain, groundnut, ngon, maize, taro, yams (1) (Fang region).

(1) Smaller repetitions cannot be entirely avoided for the sake of clarity in the individual sections. The reader will be so kind as to excuse them.

1. Cassava

252 Aside from insignificant variations, the cassava root is prepared in five different ways. Two of these are chiefly women's food: pulverized cassava, cooked in a leaf roll bent into the shape of a stirrup

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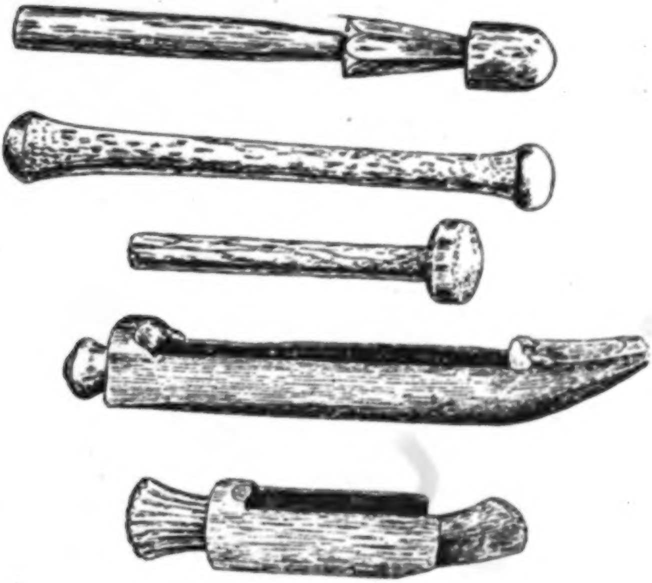

Fig. 95. Wooden Troughs with Pestles.

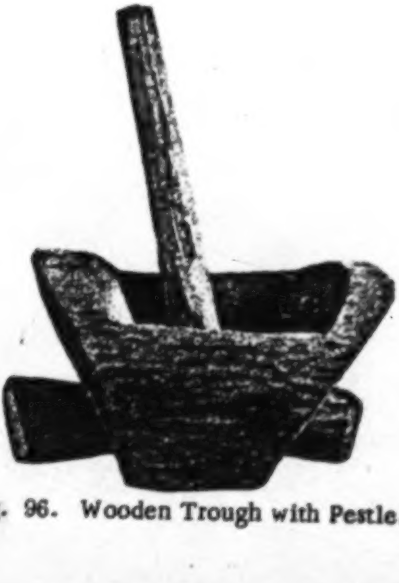

Fig. 96. Wooden Trough with Pestle.

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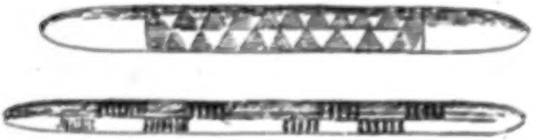

Fig. 97. Plantain Peelers.

252 (nkṵ́ńa-mbṵ́n), and steamed cassava (amắńắ-mbṵ́ń), neither of them very tasty or very carefully prepared. The three remaining ways of preparing cassava are in the main designed for men, namely: cassava rolls, the so-called "kanks" (2) (ebŏbǒ̧), the exclusive food on journeys because of their handy shape; cassava cutlets (osā-mbṵ̆́n); and finally, boiled cassava roots (agbwå ma-mbṵ́n). In the entire region there is uniformity in the matter of cassava dishes, with the sole exception that the stirrup-shaped leaf rolls are also now and then eaten by men among the Ntum and Fang.

Because of its strong smell, cassava -- which could perhaps replace our potato -- has no great appeal to European taste, especially in the forms in which the Negroes prepare it. The sausage-shaped cassava rolls in the north, where the roots are first placed in clean, running water, most readily please our palates, in spite of their pasty odor. To make them tasty, one has to cut them into slices in the European fashion or pulverize them, mix with an egg, and fry them in butter. The kanks in the south are very bad, because there the roots are placed in the swamp for a while prior to preparation and hence take on a quite repulsive muddy odor.

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2. The origin of this word is not clear to me; I do not know whether it was taken from Negro languages or whether it is a European word corrupted in coastal English.

252 (a) Cassava rolls or cassava loaves (mbŏ́m I-mbŏ́m, ebŏbŏ́).

These require more time to prepare, from four to five days. The roots are placed in water holes just as they come from the plantation, that is, with the rind and without being cut into pieces (with the exception of very large roots which are cut in two). /Fig. 98 appears here in the original text./ /154/ /Figs. 99, 100, and 101 appear here in the original text./ This is done in order to draw the poison out of them. Ntum and Fang women attach no importance to the kind of water in which they place the roots; indeed, they seem to prefer swampy areas, such as raffia swamps. In those places one often sees the remains of the cassava on the thoroughly muddy water and along the edge of the puddle; over [106] the remains an enormous number of butterflies floats like a cloud, especially blue and white Pieridae, varieties of Papilio, among them the large blue Zalmoxis. These holes, which have a strong odor of both mud and cassava, are valuable places of discovery for the collector. In the northern region, on the other hand, among the Jaunde, Bene, and many Bulu, cassava is not placed in the swamp but on the sandy bottom of clear, flowing streams, near the bank where the water flows more slowly. Also they take the trouble to block off a stream so that only a little water can run through. Then the roots are placed on the bottom downstream from the dam. Perhaps the reason for placing the cassava roots in clear, running [33] water in the northern region is that there are few raffia swamps in that area. The cassava has to lie in the still or very gently flowing water for a period of from three to four days, three days in the case of younger roots and four days in the case of older, strong roots. After this period the woman takes the roots out and by hand pulls off the bark together with the firmer fibrous layer underneath. This job presents no difficulties. Then she lightly washes the roots on the spot and pulls out the center rib. With both hands she presses the cassava into a ball in the water -- during this process it exudes a whitish sap -- and places the balls in a basket lined with leaves. 253 Further preparation is done in the house; there the cassava is pul- 254 verized on the grindstone, and the powder is poured on leaves which the woman picked on her return from the swamp. In the south these

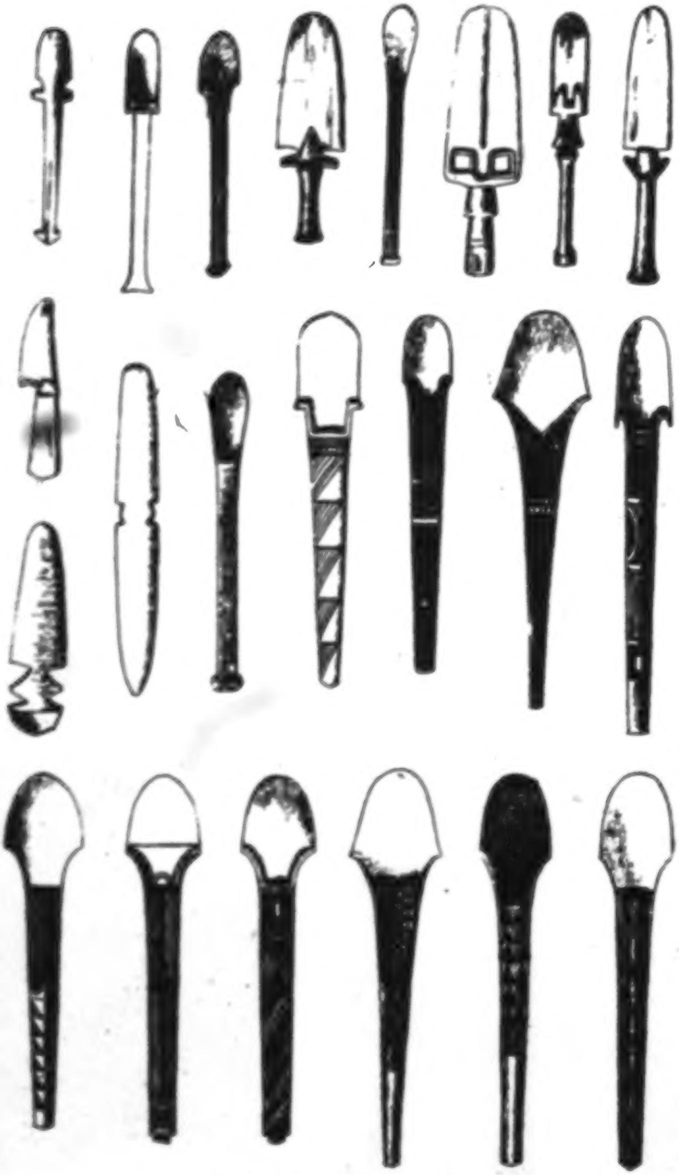

Fig. 98. Stirring Spoons.

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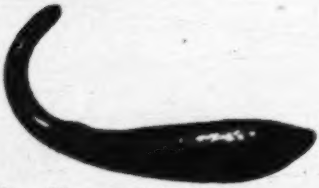

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Fig. 99. Calabash Spoon.

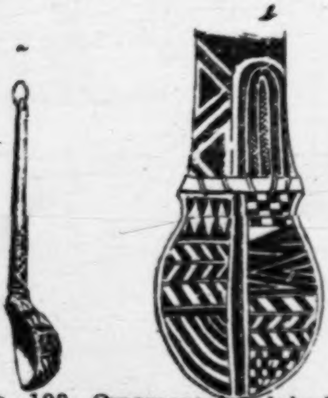
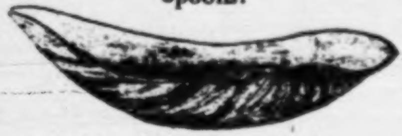


Fig. 100. Ornamental Calabash Spoons.



[521]

Fig. 101. Snail Spoon.

are the leaves of the previously often mentioned Marantacea Sarcophrynium velutinum (Baks) K. Sch. (okiăịkūī, okiăị) (1). Plate 11, with the species glabrius Laes. /155/ (andū́ma); in the north (Jaunde), the leaves of the Clinogyne schweinfurthiana K. Sch. (embŭŏ) are used. Every day the women bring large bundles of such leaves from the field since they use them not only for wrapping cassava and maize loaves, but also as trays and plates.

252 The mass of cassava is gently kneaded in these leaves into the shape of a sausage; then a leaf is wrapped around it and folded over at the ends like a parcel; finally, there is tied around it a string made from the stalks of the same plant which supplied the leaf cover (the stalks of the plant are called ndĕ́n IV, ndĕ́nan IV). These rolls are boiled with some water for an hour in a covered pot, and they are then put to one side to cool off. Only in rare cases are they eaten warm immediately after being cooked (Fig. 102). They keep for three days this way. Usually they are 35 centimeters long, somewhat longer in the Jaunde region, and five centimeters thick; they are in all somewhat larger in the Bulu region.

1. okiā́ị = leaf; a kūī = to envelop; stem kū. Compare kū[1], the turtle, because of its armor, and a kū-t = to knock, to open by knocking, that is, to cause something to uncover itself.

252 435 484 Throughout the region such a "kank"[1] is equal in value to a tobacco leaf (commercial tobacco) or a spoonful of salt. This is equal to a piece of spear money or seven pfennigs. They are generally used as provisions for bearers and employees of the Whites because of their convenience and availability, their unlimited supply, and their popularity with the natives.

Dried cassava rolls (engū́nă-mbǒm).

252 484 251 As was mentioned before, the ordinary rolls do not keep longer than three days. Hence a special procedure is used in their preparation for longer journeys or for situations when one cannot or does not want to make the rolls again and again. In this procedure, the cassava balls are placed on the drying loft for a month after they have been washed; only then are they processed, that is, pulverized on stones, wrapped in leaves, and boiled. Sometimes the balls themselves are carried along on the journey. They are softened in water when they are wanted, boiled, and consumed cold. Both kinds of cassava rolls are called engū́nă-mbū́ń.

(b) Cassava cutlets (osā, -mbū́ń, ngǒ-mbū́ń IV).

252 A very bitter and at the same time poisonous species of cassava is made into cassava cutlets. For this purpose, the pieces of root are peeled with a cutlass, halved lengthwise or quartered, and boiled with one and a half liters of water for an hour in a pot lined with plantain leaves. Then the roots are taken out, cut like a loaf into slices, and hung for a day in running water inside a basket lined with leaves. After that, they are thoroughly washed on the net described under "Fishing" on page 80, and they are then eaten cold. /156/

Dried cassava cutlets (dźā́[s] -mbū́h).

[251 484] These are dried after the boiling and before being hung in the water, in the same way as engū́na-mbū́ń. They are used in the same situations.

[1] [i.e. cassava roll — Analyst]

(c) Boiled cassava roots (agbwą̌ma-mbǔ̱ṅ).

A species of our plant, one which has comparatively little poison and which for that reason does not require a long period of leaching in water, is cut to size like the above and boiled for an hour. Its very insipid and fibrous root is eaten hot.

(d) Ground cassava boiled in a leaf bent into a stirrup shape (nkǔ̱′nǎ-mbǔ̱ṅ I).

A strip of bark is split off from the root with the cutlass, and the interior is scraped out with a rough piece of stalk taken from the trunk of the rattan palms Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nka̱ne) or Calamus deerratus M. et W. (edžį̌n). The slivers fall onto a leaf placed underneath and are then ground on the grindstone. The pulp is then thoroughly kneaded with a stirring spoon in a basketwork plate or wooden plate lined with a leaf. Water, which first runs over a charred piece of plantain bark in a leaf funnel, is added to it as it is kneaded. In this way, the water and thus also the cassava pulp acquire a blackish tinge, supposedly because the women do not like the white color of the cassava. The pulp /Figs. 102 and 103 appear here in the original text/ is then placed inside a rolled leaf bent into the shape of a stirrup (Fig. 103); like the cassava rolls it is set on the fire with very little water and boiled for an hour.

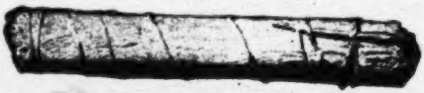


Fig. 102. Cassava Roll.

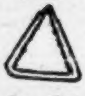


Fig. 103. Leaf Bent into the Shape of a Stirrup.

This dish is glutinously tough and blackish; it has an ugly appearance and a rather unpleasant taste.

(e) Steamed cassava (amā̀ʹhă-mbŭ́ṅ).

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Ground pulp, such as is used for cassava rolls, or boiled roots are placed between two leaves which have been tied above a pot. Macabo leaves are boiled in the pot itself, and the cassava is steamed at the same time (for an hour).

In addition to the roots, the leaves of the cassava plant (mandž̄ą̆ą̆, plural) are frequently eaten, mainly by women. The leaves are pounded thoroughly in a wooden trough (Fig. 104), placed with some water in an open pot /157/ on the fire, and left to boil for not less than three and a half hours, more water being added during the boiling. Then they are stirred while salt or pepper is added, and they are served. In this form the vegetable is called mbăb I. Although it does not taste bad, it is nonetheless regarded as inferior food and is eaten by the men only when nothing else is available.

2. Plantain

The plantain is eaten in five different forms; for three of these forms, unripe fruit is used, and for the remaining two, ripe fruit.

(a) Plantains roasted in ashes (ngpó-ekǫ́n I).

An unripe, peeled plantain is wrapped in a leaf and placed next to the fire in ashes which are lightly piled on top of it. After half an hour it is ready. On the outside the plantain is a whitish yellow; inside, a dark yellow. It has a rather dry taste.

(b) Boiled plantains (mbē̜ē ekǭ́n I).

The unripe plantains are peeled, the ribs and small particles of skin are cleaned off, and the plantains are then boiled in water for 20 minutes.

(c) Pounded plantains (ntšǐ̄mă ekǭ́n I).

These are prepared like the previous ones, but they are eaten after being pounded to a mash.

(d) Boiled ripe plantains (mfōk-ekō'n I, mfō-nšā I).

The skins of ripe plantains are removed with the plantain peeler and placed in a pot. On top of these is placed the fruit, whole or cut into pieces; on top of the fruit in turn are placed more skins. Then water is added to cover everything and boiled for half an hour. The plantains are eaten either whole or ground to a mash with cold water.

(e) Raw ripe plantains (nšā III).

The ripe fruit is eaten raw or roasted in ashes.

3. Groundnut

Sometimes the groundnut is eaten roasted whole (kŏk IV-ewuno, etŏle-ewuno). Otherwise it is prepared in four different ways, in part as mush. In all these forms of preparation it is first necessary to break open the groundnuts by hand (Plate 12), a task in which the entire family takes part; then the woman lightly roasts the nuts for a few minutes over the fire on the groundnut roasting board and grinds them twice on the grindstone. After the second grinding the mass is called ebǎ[s] -ewuno (bǎ, "to divide," hence e-bǎ-b "that which has separated off," for instance, /158/ /Fig. 104 appears here in the original text/ small pieces of bark that stand out from the tree, and e-bǎ-s, "the scale"), because the ground material tends to stick together and falls like scales from the stone. The following dishes are prepared from this base.

(a) Groundnut sauce (esǎngāne).

Water is heated in a pot, and the hot water, except for a small amount, is poured off into a little shell. Then the pot is taken off the fire, and the groundnut substance is poured into it. The whole is thoroughly stirred with a kitchen spoon while hot water is added

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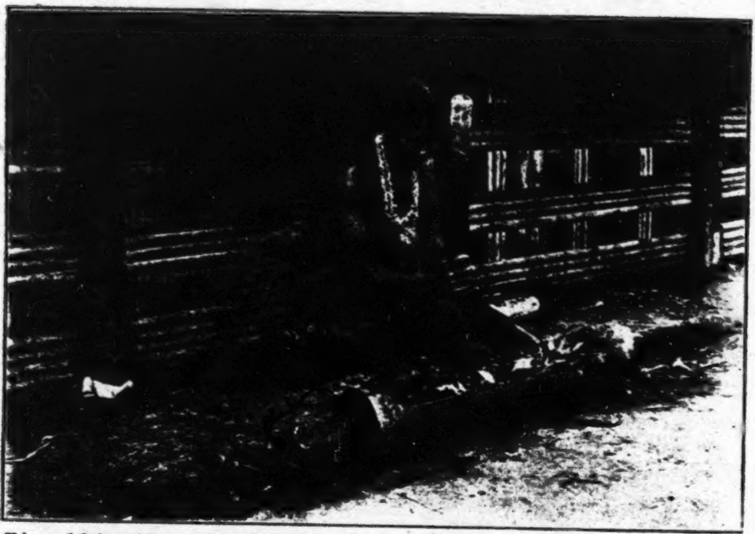

Fig. 104. Ntum Woman Pounding Cassava Leaves in a Trough for Spinach.

252 three or four times, and salt is added. Everything is given another good stirring, and the dish is ready. Sometimes the material is also boiled with a little water in the pot itself.

(b) Groundnut bundle (nnə̌m-ewuno I).

As in the case of (a), water is put on the fire in a pot. After the pot has been taken off the fire, the groundnut material is poured into it and stirred up as water is added. Then the mush is put inside a plantain leaf that has been drawn through the fire to make it flexible; the leaf is tied together into a bundle and placed on the fire in a pot of cold water. The pot must be closed at the top with leaves. If the groundnuts are not stirred up with hot water, but, as in this case, are placed on the fire cold, they always have to boil from half an hour to an hour. /159/

(c) Groundnut mush (atóō).

The mass of groundnuts -- prepared as indicated above -- is poured into a pot of boiling water and stirred around. Then it is placed on the fire for a brief period -- two minutes -- and salt is added to it.

(d) Groundnut soup (*mpfiǎṅ* I-*ewuno*).

This differs from the foregoing only by the addition of a larger amount of water so that it becomes a soup. It is served as a gravy for meat, etc., and is never eaten by itself.

4. Ngon

Ngon is prepared in only two forms, as a bundle (*nnǎm ngôn*) and as a soup (*nšǎ-ngôn* I). These two forms correspond to those described in connection with the groundnut.

5. Maize

Maize is eaten in four different forms. Either the entire ear is roasted (*nkpǒ-fun* I), or it is consumed as maize soup (*nšǎ-fun* I), as maize mush (*ngbwét*), and as maize bread (*bǘmō* III).

(a) The entire ear.

Like plantains, fresh ears are roasted in ashes.

(b) Maize soup (*nšǎ-fun* I).

The kernels are broken out of the spindles of old ears and boiled until they are soft (half an hour) in a pot half full of water. Then they are ground up and boiled for an hour with minced leaves of the cassava and the *Amaranthus* (*endǒṅ-abǭ'k*). When they are done, cold water is added, the whole mixture is stirred, and the soup is served.

(c) Maize bread (*bǘmō* III).

The kernels are removed from old ears of maize and poured into a pot of water so they will swell slightly. Then the woman spoons them out a few at a time, places them on the grindstone, and, 252 frequently pouring on water, grinds them to flour (half a basket of ears produces a heaping basketwork plate of flour from which three loaves are made). The flour in a basketwork plate lined with leaves is stirred with water to form a batter; salt, pepper, and frequently [262] also shrimp and dragonfly larvae are added. This batter, as in the case of the women's cassava nkŭ'na mbŭn, is placed in a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the shape of a stirrup, and it is boiled for an hour in a pot with a little water. The end result is a dish which, while it is rather heavy, tastes quite good. /160/

(d) Maize mush (ngbwĕt).

Maize mush is made of fresh maize flour which, when boiled, makes a white pulpy soup. Since I have not closely observed its preparation, I am unable to give any details.

The remaining plants, such as taro, macabo, yams, and so forth, are not sufficiently important to be discussed in relation to the various ways of preparing them. The reader will, I think, from the information given so far, derive a clear enough picture of the multiple uses made by the Pangwe of their vegetable foodstuffs.

Meat is boiled in pots by itself -- just like fish, which, as among us, are dressed and scaled -- or it is boiled in a leaf bundle with groundnuts and ngon. As for other ways of preparation, the [257] Pangwe are familiar with roasting, but they use this method only in order to make the food keep and to preserve it.

264 Meals are quite irregular and poorly distributed:

"kikitase afök anų̄, hamoš ebań e nkǫ̌k,
[539] In the morning a little bit for the mouth, (mid) day a loan for the jaw,

alu bepfŭm"
at night, quite full.

In the morning, soon after getting up, they usually eat a small amount of a cold cassava dish or something similar, which the women have cooked the night before since they usually have to go to the plantations early. In the course of the forenoon they content themselves with a little snack of cassava bread, bananas, and the like.

264 Then follows the warm midday meal which takes place between twelve and five o'clock, depending on when the woman returns from the plantation. The main meal, which is fairly substantial, occurs in the evening. This is not just one meal, however; the women have to cook two or three times and, indeed, even in the middle of the night in order to appease the hungry stomachs. They frequently deviate from this "rule," to be sure. If the store of provisions is ample and there is little work to do, they eat the whole day long; on the other hand, if anything comes up, they just as readily omit meals or fast an entire day.

In the main, meals consist of cassava and plantains. In addition to these, any of the other foods mentioned may be eaten, whatever is on hand.

Men and women usually eat separately. The woman takes care of herself as she is cooking and helps herself even to the men's food which is not meant for her, or she eats with her daughters and younger sons after she has sent the midday meal to her husband in the meeting house where the older boys also gather for food. /161/ On the other hand, the husband habitually goes home to take the late evening meal in the family circle, since by then it has become too cold or lonesome in the meeting house.

At all times, the Pangwe man eats quietly and with dignity, not without appreciative smacking of the lips and constant talking, however. Greedy eating (a šṵ̃'ban a dži̯) seems ridiculous and un-
[577] becoming to the Pangwe and is interpreted by him as a sign of bad rearing. Many of the precepts which the father gives his son make
[867] this point, and in proverbs and fairy tales (for instance, in the nice
[538] fairy tale of Bömme's gluttony, in the story of the greedy pig, and so forth) the same idea recurs.

264 Tableware is very sparse, as one would expect. In the case of
415 liquid dishes, the cooking pot, if it is small, is placed in the midst of the company straight from the fire; if it is large, its contents are poured into a smaller pot. Everyone takes his spoon and eats from the common vessel. In the evening when the man eats at home, he usually has a pot of his own placed before him. Solid foods, for instance, plantains and cassava cutlets, are served on a banana leaf, and everyone takes them by hand. It is considered more refined to

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415 put the leaf on a basketwork plate or to serve the food on such a plate with nothing under it.

The men's spoon is made of wood (tǫk; plural, IV or, irregular, matǭk), Figure 105, and occurs in four different forms, each with two subvarieties. The first form resembles our salad spoons; it has either a circular or broad egg-shaped bowl and a flat handle which begins just below its outer surface (a-c). This first form [177] has come from the north, perhaps from the Jaunde and Bene, among whom it is very widespread and popular, and perhaps from tribes located even farther north; in the south it is to be seen quite frequently among the Bulu, quite a lot among the Ntum, and rather more rarely among the Fang. The spoon may have (d) a pear-shaped bowl and a wider handle which starts farther down (I have seen this only among the Fang).

The second form (e-f) consists of a more or less circular, deep bowl and a broad handle attached to the edge of the bowl and bent in the shape of a gable. The handle usually broadens out at the end and is decorated with carved patterns or covered with stamped brass plate. The latter is to be found only among the Fang and, because of the circular shape of the bowl, is called dų̄ma-gǭdǫvǭ'dǭ, "nest of the bulbuls (Pycnonotus)."

A form representing a transition between the first and second forms is exemplified by g where the narrow, unadorned handle of the first form is bent in the form of a gable like the second form. This is found only among the Jaunde. /162/

/Fig. 105 appears here in the original text./ The third form (h-k) has a narrow, oval, shallow bowl which more or less gradually extends into the short, usually flat, more rarely round handle; this form is to be found only among the Fang.

A fourth form (l-n) really consists only of a trough-shaped bowl on which the handle is indicated merely by a gradual depression (accordingly, the form is called kiāi-adžăb = leaf of the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.); it is found only among the Fang.

The women's spoons, that is, leaf spoons, calabash spoons, and snail spoons, have been mentioned above. It may be added at this point that the man also uses these spoons on occasion, especially when he has no wooden spoon at hand or when he is on a journey.

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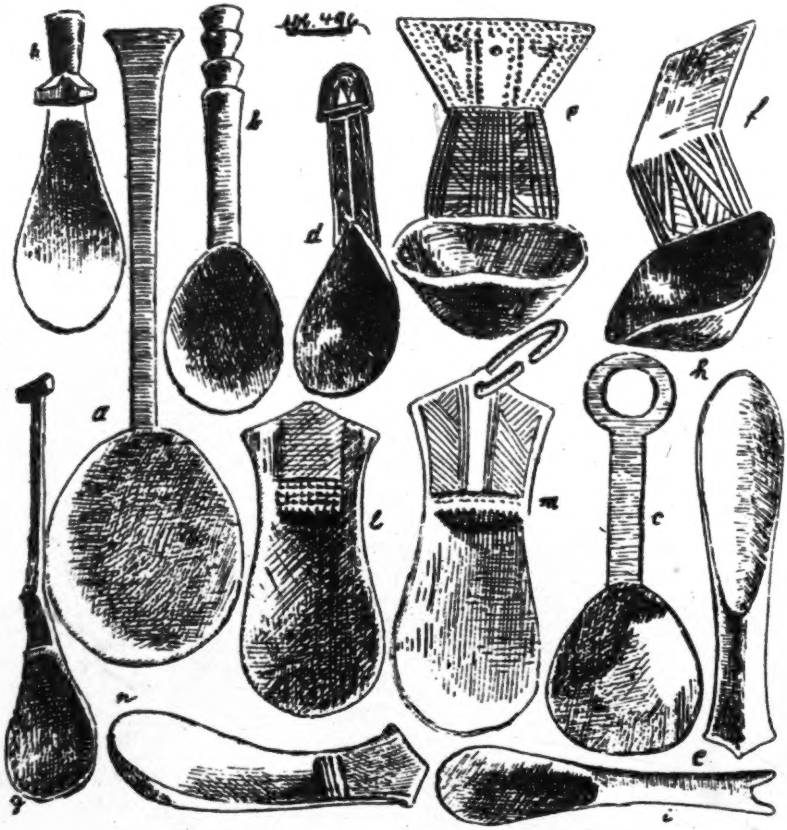

Fig. 105. Men's Ladling Spoons.

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415 As a rule, to be sure, every man carries one or two of these useful utensils in his shoulder bag made of pineapple fibers (mfǒk). /163/

Beverages and Indulgents

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484 The usual beverage of the Pangwe is water. He drinks it from little bowls, into which the water is poured from a clay water flask, or from calabashes (ndǒk IV) which, in addition to the clay water flasks, are also used for fetching water. He also drinks water from special drinking calabashes cut in half through the middle (Mwele) or provided with a hole (Jaunde). On a journey, he uses one or

271 415 484 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

271 137 824 In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this, to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like -- one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana *Dichapetalum holosericeum* Engl. (*angu̿ngu̿'ī-ndžìk* III Ntum, *ngu̿'ī-ndžìk* III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 273 As regards indulgents, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

1. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (*mayŏ*[*k*] *me nkō'k*)." The latter method of

272 extraction occurs only in the southern Pangwe region and /164/ in two forms. The first is as follows. The cane is cut into pieces from six to eight centimeters long; the meat of the cane is removed by sticking the spiked stalk of Trachyphrynium danckelmanianum Braun et K. Schn. (nsō' I) through it and scraping back and forth for a while (Fig. 104). A leaf is placed underneath to catch the scrapings, and later they are put in a basketwork plate and pressed out by hand. A second, more refined procedure consists of removing the bark from the cane with a knife and pounding it in a wooden trough. The pulp thus obtained is put in a sugar press (ojắm), a crude piece of basketwork in rectangular form, made of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), whose narrow sides end in loops through which two sticks are pushed. One of these is stuck through two poles planted in the ground, each with a hole drilled through the middle; the other stick is placed on top of the two poles. When the press is to be used, /Fig. 106 appears here in the original text/ a vessel (pot) is placed under it, the upper stick is taken off, the sugarcane pulp is placed in the plaited container, the stick is turned with both hands, and in this way the [888 press is wrung dry. The sap, which can be drunk right away, is 757] made primarily for elderly people who are no longer able to chew sugarcane meat; it is also made for medicinal purposes. /165/

2. Banana wine.

273 This wine is obtained from ripe bananas or plantains. They are peeled, cut in half, and then placed in a pot filled with water. The pot is covered with a perforated leaf and set in the sun for a day. The fluid is then carefully poured off, put in a calabash, and again set in the sun for a brief period of time. This banana wine or plantain wine (the latter is supposed to taste even better) is known only in the northern Pangwe region. Among the Jaunde it is valued very highly, as much as palm wine, which is attested to, among other things, by its special popularity with the older chiefs who are known as connoisseurs. This beverage, indeed, is not at all bad, and it is, incidentally, also popular with the Whites.

3. Palm wine.

The Pangwe make palm wine primarily from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alę́ń). In very rare cases they make it from the raffia palm, while in the extreme north it is also made from the Deleb palm. As a result, its abundance and quality depend upon the range of the oil palm, that is to say, actually only the northern Pangwe region, especially the Mwele, Jaunde, and Bene areas and to a lesser extent the Bulu area, come into consideration here. In the south, on the other hand, the making of palm wine is practically unknown; there oil palms are so sparse that they give their name to nearby localities (Alén, Malén) because they

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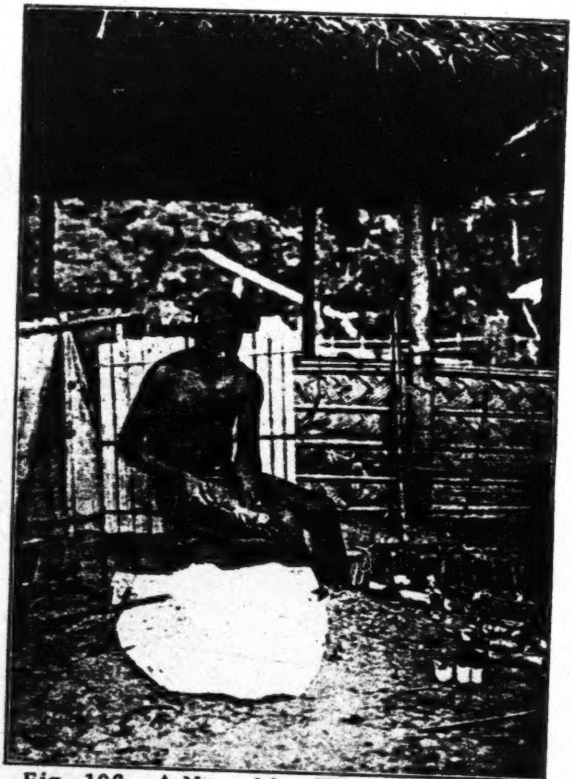

Fig. 106. A Ntum Man Using a Spiked Stalk to Scrape Sections of Sugarcane in Order to Press Sugar Wine out of it.

273 are regarded as a curiosity. Wine made from the raffia palm, supposed to have a bitter and not very pleasant taste, is known by hearsay to the southern Pangwe. It may even be that they produce it in isolated places, but I never saw or drank it. On the other hand, the [137] wine made from the Deleb palm, Borassus flabellifer var. aethiopum Mart. (Mwele, awui), which in very isolated patches extends into the northernmost part of the Pangwe region (I have observed it myself between Elandi and Abandakudi) has a superb taste and is justifiably valued very highly even though it does not possess the characteristic bouquet of oil palm wine. On my journey through Mwele territory I was told that the palm tree dies if one cuts off its blossoms to make wine, and indeed I saw a whole number of gigantic trunks reaching into the sky, leafless as masts. At the same time I must confess that when I was able to refresh my thirsty throat with this beverage in Simekoa, I hardly considered the price -- the dead palm tree -- too high.

For the Pangwe Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ is the classical land of palm wine or mimbu, as it is called in pidgin English. If one travels through the Jaunde region at the right time of year, he will find a number of calabashes hanging from almost every oil palm, which indicates: "There is palm wine here." /166/

The quality of the wine depends on various circumstances. One very rarely finds the really first-rate wine, which can well stand comparison with inferior champagnes.

Aside from the method of obtaining the wine, the age of the tree plays a certain role. One cannot get good wine from the flowers of young palms. Similarly, only old calabashes, in which palm wine has often been kept, may be used to catch the wine. I am unable to say what other factors determine the superior or inferior taste of their wine. It is certain that, as in the case of our wines, soil and climate are important. My Jaunde in the south, for instance, took all kinds of trouble to serve me with good "stuff," but it was all -- as they themselves admitted -- a beverage of which one could but say: "It looks like wine, but it isn't; it doesn't make you sing, it doesn't make you happy." In any case a person who, after the first trial of a perhaps only moderately successful wine, condemns palm juice in general does it an injustice. One must first get used

273 to its peculiar taste, and anyone who, like myself, has drunk his way from Duala through Bakoko /Koko/ and Bassá country, through the Jaunde and Mwele areas up to the northeastern boundary of the Pangwe region to Kombokotto, knows that one only has to look for a really good drop to find it, and that this is one of the best things available in the Pangwe territory in the way of culinary pleasures.

Usually palm wine is yellowish-white, either dry or more or less sweet, the best being almost transparent in the glass, bubbling like sparkling wine, slightly sweet, and extremely intoxicating. Inferior wine is more opaque, while a very indifferent variety, obtained -- as will be described below -- from the trunk, is not transparent and is covered with foam like soapy water, which it resembles somewhat in taste. All of them, however, have a characteristic and fine bouquet to which, as I have said, one must first become accustomed, but which afterwards he never forgets. When I read through the pages of my diary telling of the days of travel in Yaoundé, the wine bouquet seems to stream forth from them and to embody everything beautiful and characteristic that tropical West Africa offers to the memory.

There are three methods of obtaining the wine. The first two involve cutting down a palm tree about five years old, and for that reason such methods are not very common in the Pangwe region (1).

The first method, which produces the best wine and which in Jaunde is called mayǒ[k] me mbǔm, is carried out in the following manner. The leaves of the palm tree that has been cut down, the upper leaves in particular, are cut off, and the calabash is put over the cut at the heart of the palm.

In the second method -- mayǒ[k] me nkōk, "palm wine from the felled trunk" -- a rectangular hole is cut in the middle of the trunk /167/ down to the pith, about 15 centimeters deep. This is not done, however, until the trunk has lain for a day and has been

1. These methods are more frequently used in the Bassá area where the palm trees are so numerous that they can be wasted in this manner.

273 covered with old leaf sheath which look like bark and are in turn weighted down with leafstalk ends and the like as a protection against insects. The palm wine gathers in this hole and is scooped out daily. This process lasts from four to five days and produces in all five or more bottles of inferior wine.

Most common is the third method of obtaining wine, namely, from the male or female inflorescences of fully grown trees, that is, ten years old or older (simply: mayǒ[k] m'alěn, "wine from [481] the oil palm"). This procedure, to be sure, is not nearly as simple as the two previous ones since the man must climb up the palm tree and work for quite a long time hanging in a supporting rope, in particular lopping off the leaves. It frequently happens that in his eagerness the man cuts through the supporting rope and falls to the ground; to do this he does not even need to have looked too deeply into a calabash filled with palm wine.

At least two, usually three or four, and more rarely up to six inflorescences on a palm are tapped at the same time since some produce more juice, others less or no juice at all. With four inflorescences, for instance, only two produce juice; with six, only four.

The next step is to remove from below all the leaves of the crown with the exception of the leaf in whose axil the inflorescence is inserted. This is now partly removed, but its lower edge and the part of the lower end of the stalk which is turned away from the inflorescence are left on; otherwise the inflorescence would break off and fall down. A stick is clamped between the inflorescence on the one hand and the leaf that was left standing and the neighboring leaf on the other to prop up the inflorescence which has been deprived of its support. Not until the next day is the work continued. With a two-edged knife a rectangular cutout about six centimeters above the base is excised (in a downward direction) from the husk. The stalk of the inflorescence is cut through here and is taken out, so that on all sides only the husks are left standing. Now the stick can be removed since a prop is no longer needed. After two days the palm wine can be collected. For this purpose, a thin layer of the remaining stalk of the inflorescence is cut off, and the empty husks are stopped up at the tip with old dry husks that have been

273 crumpled up. Then a long-stemmed, fife-like bag is made of five leaf pinnae of the oil palm; this bag is placed at the lower part of the cutout with its "head" down and the tip outward. The bag is pressed to the cutout by means of a little stick made from the bark of an oil palm leafstalk and stuck through the husk on either side /168/. The entire arrangement is designed to prevent insects, such as giant beetles, palm weevils, rose beetles, bees, flies, etc., from penetrating the husk. Furthermore, in order to prevent the wine from running past the bag, the slits at those points where the bag rests against the husks are closed off with the down of oil palm leaf sheaths. On the little stick which holds the bag, a calabash, on which a small leaf funnel is placed, is suspended in such a way that the lower end of the bag extends into the funnel so that here, too, the way will be blocked to uninvited guests from the insect world.

It is necessary to remove the palm wine from the calabash morning, noon, and night, since otherwise it would spoil. Each time, also, a thin layer of the stalk of the inflorescence must again be cut off, and a new bag, as well as a new funnel, must be made. /Fig. 107 appears here in the original text./ In each case, the tapping of a tree lasts for three days and, if there are four tapping places, for instance, yields from six to eight bottles of wine. After this period, the tree is left alone for at least half a year so that it can recuperate; indeed, it is left to itself even longer if enough other palm trees are available.

To improve the wine -- according to the Jaunde -- to make it worse in my opinion -- the Jaunde frequently put the bark of a tree called evūʻma (Jaunde) in the calabashes. Fortunately, this tree grows only in the Mwele region, and the Jaunde get it from there. This bark /Fig. 108 appears here in the original text/ makes the palm wine "strong," as they say; that is, it gives the wine intoxicating qualities. Possibly a very small amount of the bark is a beneficial addition, but the excessive amount that the Jaunde add
273 to it harms the pleasant taste of the palm wine. I remember par-
522 ticularly a trick played on me by my boys who had poured together the wine from a number of calabashes, each about a quarter full, for my meal. In each calabash the wine had already been four

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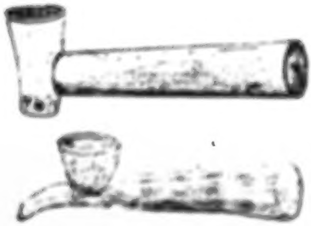

Fig. 107. Wooden Tobacco Pipes.

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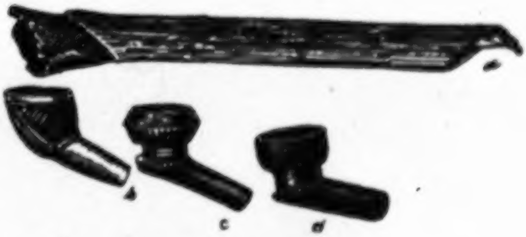

Fig. 108. Bowls for Tobacco Pipe of Banana Leafstalks.
(a) Brass plate with a piece of banana leaf stalk; (b-d) clay.

273 522 times as powerful as usual, and the entire mixture was so strong that it caused violent dizziness and headache.

273 The palm wine which is obtained from the pith of a tree trunk that is cut down /169/ (mayǒ̃[k]-nkǒ̃k) keeps for 24 hours in the house. On the other hand, the wine made from the inflorescences keeps at most half a day, and in great heat it spoils very rapidly, as I observed; it does the same if one takes it along on a trip. For this reason I followed the rule in the palm wine region of always finishing a good wine immediately or at least as soon as possible.

As I have said, the Pangwe are, generally speaking, moderate drinkers, but among them there are also heavy drinkers who regularly get drunk on palm wine. [164] I shall leave undecided the question as to whether the widespread epilepsy (okū̃bŭk) in the northern Pangwe region is a *phenomenon resulting from excessive indulgence* in palm wine on the part of the parents.

4. Tobacco.

276 249 Four varieties of tobacco, Nicotiana tabaccum L. (tǎǎ III) (1) are found in the Pangwe region. Formerly there was a fifth variety, but its cultivation has been given up. /Fig. 109 appears here in the original text./ With the exception of two that are very similar, the tobacco varieties are easily distinguished by their leaves. The key for determining each is as follows.

- A. Leaves are not alated, and the leafstalk is long and clearly defined: esǎ̃h (esǎ̃h because of the similarity of the leaves to those of the Hibiscus sabdariffa L.)
- B. Leaves are alated
  - (a) Leaves are narrow, lanceolated: sǒmǒ̃ IV
  - (b) Leaves are broad, ovate
    - 1. Blossoms are a bright pink, almost whitish, the leaves being comparatively wider than in the case of the following: nsǒ̃debǒ̃no I

1. The native term may have arisen from tabaco.

2. Blossoms are dark pink to red, and the plants grow closer to the ground: mbŏ́ mekū́nă I 276 249

Originally, the Pangwe were not passionate smokers, as a rule, although in every village one encounters old people who cannot live without their pipes. Over the whole region, especially in the north where the influence of the Whites is more predominant (for instance, among the Jaunde), the use of tobacco is rapidly increasing. The quality of imported tobacco and the great variety of pleasing shapes of the pipes for sale in the trading posts may be strong /170/ /Fig. 110 appears here in the original text/ contributing factors. 276 [171]

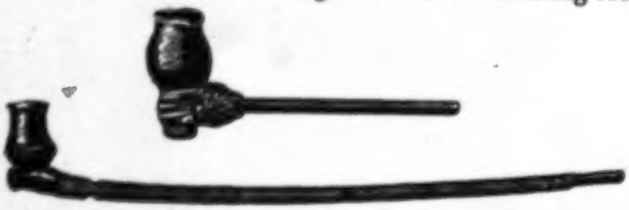

Fig. 109. Clay Tobacco Pipes.

Next to salt, "trade tobacco" is one of the principal trade articles. [439]

Tobacco is exclusively smoked in pipes; chewing or taking snuff is unknown. The Pangwe distinguish three forms of pipes. First there are short wooden pipes carved out of one piece (only among the Fang), ekūk-myiŏ́k (Fig. 107), and secondly, banana leafstalk types (ntŏ́n I; bowl, obắk). The latter consist of a piece of banana leafstalk or leaf ribbing, more than a meter long, and a bowl stuck on top of it which is made of the kernel of the raffia fruit, brass plate, or clay (Fig. 108). The stalk needs to be replaced from time to time. In almost every meeting house this form of pipe can be seen on the wall resting on two hooks, and it frequently goes the rounds among the men, on which occasion the chief is the first to draw from one to three deep puffs and then passes it on to his neighbor. The last man puts the pipe back on its rack. The third type of pipe

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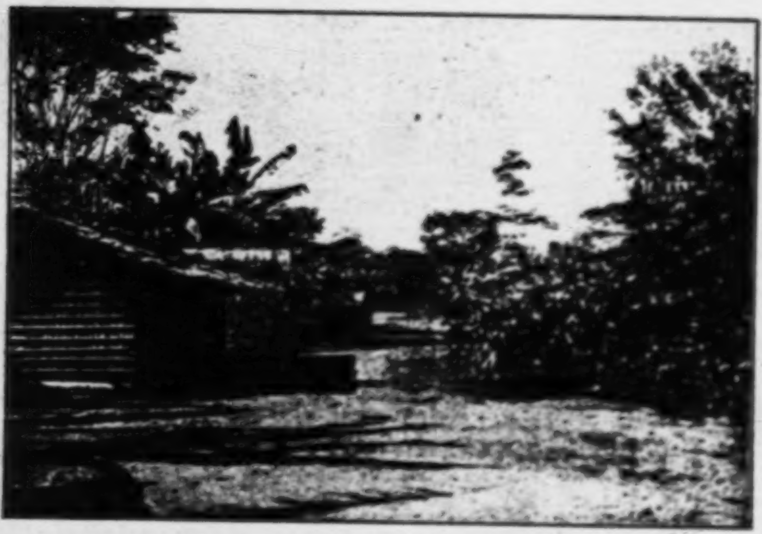

Fig. 110. Tobacco Planted in a Village Square.

276 (myō-taa) consists of a clay bowl and a wooden stem about 30 centimeters long, part of which has brass wire neatly wound around it (Fig. 109). Formerly, this pipe is supposed to have been as long as an arm among the Jaunde.

249 Proportionate to the indifferent habit of smoking is the indifferent care and affection with which the tobacco plant and its leaves are treated. Wherever a great deal of tobacco is imported by the trading houses, tobacco cultivation is completely neglected. /171/

Tobacco seeds are sown in whatever planting area happens to be convenient at the same time as the principal crop of the field is planted. Accordingly, the tobacco may be sown, for instance, with groundnuts twice a year. Frequently a small tobacco bed is laid out close to the village, or the seeds are planted next to the houses and sometimes on the village square (Fig. 110).

As soon as the plants attain a certain height, all the leaves except those on top are picked off. The top leaves are left so that the plant can continue to grow and bring forth blossoms and fruit. Then the leaves are harvested for the second time, and the fruit

249 intended for the next sowing are taken off. Since the principal crop of the field has meanwhile been harvested and the field therefore has been abandoned, the young tobacco plants which have developed from prematurely ripened seeds are taken home and planted in the vicinity of the house.

Further treatment of the leaves consists simply of drying them in the house, either on the drying lofts (one or two days) or under the roof, underneath the mats into which the stalks are pushed so that the leaves hang down freely (depending on the distance from the fire, three to five days). Naturally, the Pangwe know nothing about the fermentation process; it may once in a while take place accidentally when the leaves are kept tied together in a basket. Usually, however, so many brothers, friends, and members of the kin group appear on the scene that the entire harvest is distributed. [422] Tobacco is regarded as communal property, so to speak; just as the pipe in the meeting house is used by everyone in common, so are the tobacco leaves considered common property, and it is the custom to share them with the members of the village at each harvest.

In spite of the crude treatment of the tobacco leaf, native tobacco is supposed to be not at all bad, as I was assured by smokers. /172/ /Fig. 111 appears here in the original text./

Section 7

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Dress and Ornaments

1. Dress. Men's dress (loin cloths, belts). -- Women's dress (front apron, back apron, working dress). -- Children's dress. -- Hair style for children; for adults (helmet crests, helmet caps, occurrence, kinds, production). -- Hair style of the older people. -- Headdress. -- Beards.
2. Ornaments. Hair ornaments. -- Piercing the nasal septum. -- Nose ornaments. -- Forehead ornaments. -- Neck ornaments (necklaces and neck bands, neck rings made

1: Tessmann--167 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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Fig. 111. Men from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

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of metal). -- Breast ornaments. -- Arm ornaments. -- Finger ornaments. -- Leg ornaments. -- Toe ornaments. -- Profusion of ornaments.

3. Care of the body. -- Cleanliness. -- Parasites and their removal. -- Care of head hair. -- Underarm and pubic hair. -- Care of the teeth. -- Salves with oil: reasons, oil plants, oil from the raffia palm, oil from the oil palm (distribution, varieties, production of pressed, boiled, and washed oil, and of palm seed oil). -- Smearing with dyes: occasions, red dye (preparation, vessels for storing it), white and black dye.
4. Adornment of the body. Origin. -- Kinds. -- Scars by burning. --

000 Ornamental scars. -- Painting. -- Tattooing /Ed., in the German, Tätowierung/ (1): origin; purpose;

1. The Lübeck Museum for Anthropology writes Tatanierung.

parts of the body tattooed; execution; varieties; payment of the tattoo artist. -- Mutilation of the teeth: reason; execution.

1. Dress.

291 The native dress of the men is a strip of material drawn between the legs and folded in the back and the front over a belt. The strip is about 90 centimeters long, 70 centimeters wide, and made of the bark of various fig /173/ trees (Fig. 111). The bark cloth is left either in its natural color and in that case shows all [384] gradations from almost pure white to a dark reddish brown, or it is dyed a resplendent red by means of red wood and is often so magnificently prepared that one can distinguish it from European cloth only by looking at it closely.

291 177 Nowadays European cloth is to be found everywhere as a result of trade, and it is supplanting the original dress which is so becoming. European cloth is sometimes worn just like the bark cloth, but usually it is wrapped smoothly around the loins with or without a belt (see Fig. 111).

291 281 Only once did I see in place of the bark cloth a narrow loin apron made of monkey skin, which at the upper end was drawn over the hip string and the rest fell down in long strips (etō'b-mabă̦s).

291 The belt (kă'na IV) consists of fiber strings with or without beads, a braided palm band (Fig. 112), or hide. The simple strings are to be seen only on boys or people who pay little attention to their appearance; the beaded belts, in contrast to those of the /Figs. 112 and 113 appear here in the original text/ women,

are single strings. The braided belts, Figure 113 (bă'b IV, Fang), apparently occur only in the south. The hide belts are either narrow bands, usually made of monkey hide, or broad bands of antelope hide whose hairy side is first shaved smooth and then incised with all kinds of patterns. Belts made of the stalks of the bindweed (abǭdembě, that is, "those who dress poorly," from bōt, "to dress," and mbě, "the poor, the bad") are regarded as the most inferior. They are worn only by people who are very negligent about their appearance.

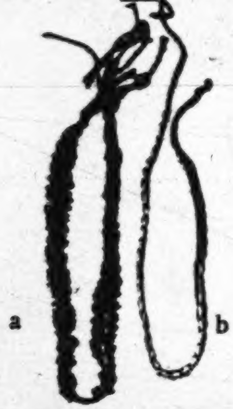

Fig. 112. Fiber Belts.
(b) Decorated with cowrie shells.

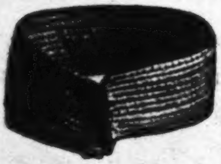

Fig. 113. Braided Belt.

Both in form and material, the women's dress is fundamentally different from that of the men. It consists of two pieces, the front apron and the back apron, both being held against the body by a hip band made of hide strips, fiber, bead strings, or European material. The front apron in its simplest form (which is found among the northern Pangwe) consists of a long, narrow, dry banana leaf which covers the pudendum and the perineum between the legs and is folded in front to form a triangular flap which is wrapped over the hip string. Otherwise, it is made either of bark cloth or a piece of hide. The back apron among the Fang is a small, modest piece of bark cloth which occurs in two forms. The first type is a band three and a half meters long and 23 centimeters wide sewed together out of many (eight to nine) pieces, /174/ which by means of pleating is shortened to a small apron 24 centimeters long and 13 to 27 centimeters wide. A string drawn through the upper edge gathers it in, like a fan. The second form consists of from two to eight small, quadrangular pieces of bark which are gathered in at the top, like a fan, and stuck one after another into a clamp (abǎ́s) (Fig. 114). This clamp consists of from five to eight short sticks of wood which are wrapped with brass wire or brass plate at one end, are placed next to each other like a grating, and are then tied together with a strip of palm.

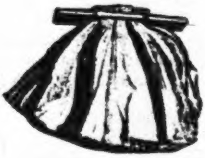

Fig. 114. Fang Woman's Back Apron of Bark Cloth.

Among the other Pangwe, the back apron is made of raffia fiber and hangs down like a horse's docked tail (Fig. 115). It is called mfõ̆k I, mfǫ̃̆ǭ-zǎm (zǎm, "raffia palm"), etŭ̧ǎ̃, azǫ̆̈m, azṏn, ebū́ī̧, ekǔ̧́m.

When at work in the fields, fishing, and so forth, the women take off their raffia tailpieces and bark aprons in order to spare

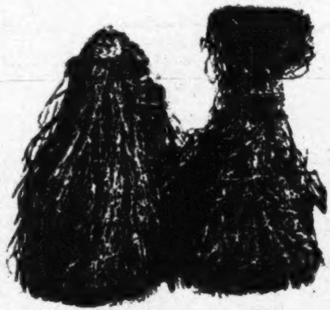

Fig. 115. Ntum Woman's Back Apron of Raffia Fiber.

them and as a substitute put an herb with soft leaves, if possible the Brillantaisia (ebūgebǫ̆́ṅ), or ferns under their belts. One also often sees them in this working dress on the way home to the village while their raffia tailpiece or bark apron splendidly adorns the top of the basket filled with fruits of the field or firewood. Men never wear leaves, not even while they are fishing.

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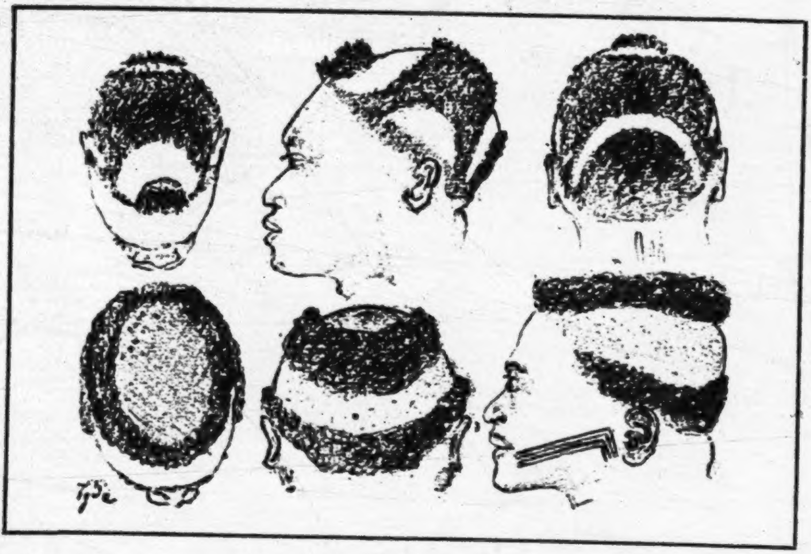

Fig. 116. Hair Styles.

291 During the first years of their lives, small children usually go
around naked, girls up to the age of five, boys up to their seventh
[304] year. The boys' circumcision does not mark a definite limit in
this matter since one sees uncircumcised boys clothed and circum-
cised boys naked, /Fig. 115 appears here in the original text/
but they do not like to wait long after this occasion. Children,
especially girls, may also be clad in a piece of cloth as soon as
they start to walk.

302 Nowadays, the Pangwe do not have a uniform hair style. We find an abundance of different forms among them -- even within the same village -- which shows that, like all Negroes, the Pangwe loves to give rein to his mode in dressing his hair for ornamental purposes.

Children usually have their heads shaved at an early age, either completely smooth or /175/ /Fig. 116 appears here in the original text/ retaining a tuft of hair either in the back or the front or a fringe. Half-grown boys wear their hair long or shaved in patterns.

Among adults the hair is either quite long and neglected (Plate 13) or it is shaved quite smooth. In other cases, it is cut

302 to half length and carefully dressed, or it is cut short, either uniformly (see Fig. 6) or in such a way that a tuft, *ǎsīk*, in front, or a fringe, *ongő̌n*, over the crown remains standing. Still others cut their hair short and shave it in all kinds of patterns (see Fig. 3), called *pfēẹ*, III (*a túb bopfẹ̄ẹ̄*, "to shave in ornamental patterns"). These would fill an entire book if one were to note them all down. I have illustrated a small number of them in Figure 116.

The hair style in the shape of a helmet, richly adorned with beads, cowrie shells, buttons, and brass nails, constitutes the *ne plus ultra* of all these types of hair styles. It is this hair style which distinguishes the Pangwe from all other peoples of tropical West Africa (Fig. 117). In the north where this fashion never reached the same perfection it had in the south, it has been given up as a result of European influence. Among the Ntum and Fang, on the other hand, the art of fashioning the helmet hair style blooms luxuriantly (Fig. 118). In this process the hair is made to stand on end by placing under it props made of raffia pith or palm strips; the curls are transformed into pigtails by means of bark strips plaited in with them. The pigtails in turn are braided together to form a pad of uniform thickness. Since the creation of such a hairdo requires ample time, a month and longer, the natives walk about for a long time with /176/ /Figs. 117 and 118/ /177/ /Fig. 119 appears here in the original text/ hairdos that have just been begun or that are more or less unfinished, so that one has the impression at first that he is observing many different kinds of hair styles. Figures 8 and 13, for example, show two different stages in the development of one and the same hairdo.

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302 In addition to these styles contrived with the hair of the head, there are removable caps. These are made in precisely the same way and in precisely the same shapes (Fig. 119) as the hair styles just described, so that only upon close inspection can one decide whether the hair has been dressed or has been covered with a cap. These caps, however, are not common and are made only by the Ntum and by a few Fang (Okak). Dressing the hair itself decidedly predominates, a fact which we should mention since from the evidence of the museum material one might arrive at a different conclusion. The illustrations given here all show hairdos.

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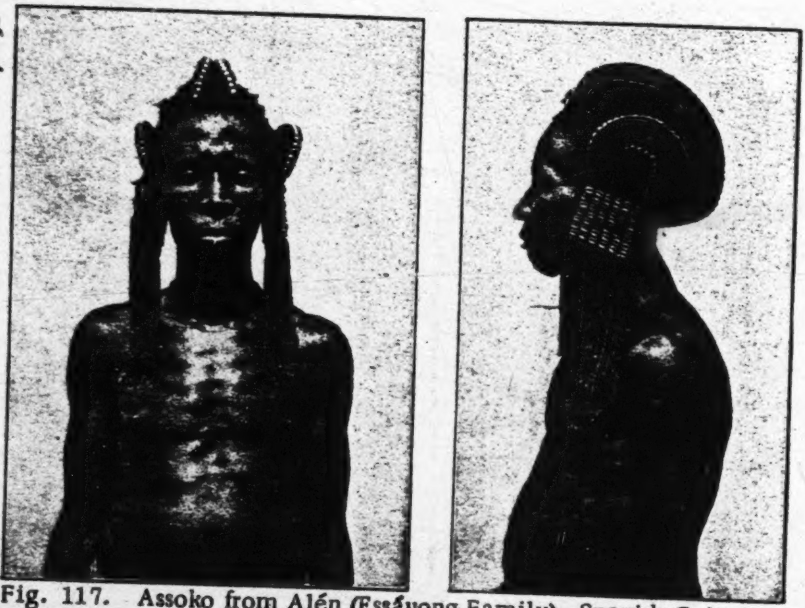

Fig. 117. Assoko from Alén (Essáuong Family), Spanish Guinea.

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Fig. 118. Ntum Preparing Ornamental Helmet Crests, Akonangi, South Cameroons.

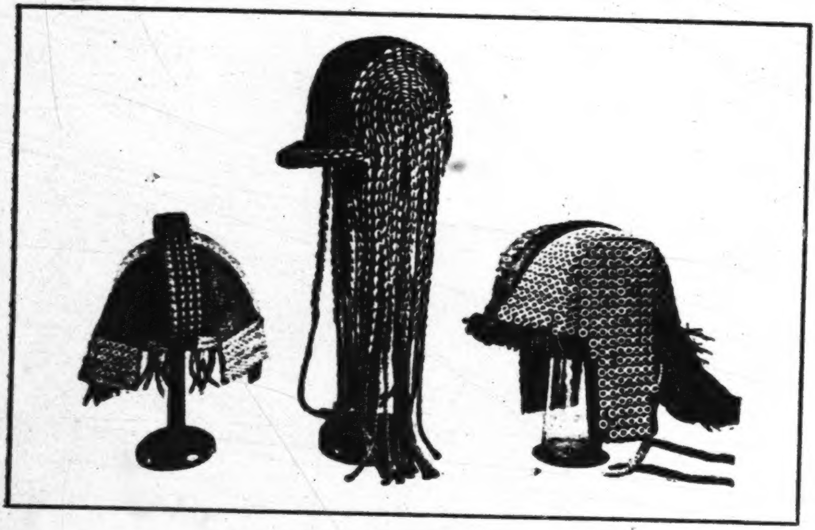 292

Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about 302
half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only
by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments
are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case 301
among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the
butt of ridicule.

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only 292
as a sign of mourning are both taken off -- the former is sometimes 765
also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/

To make his ornamental caps (edó̱ban, etŭ̄e'), the Ntum takes 294
a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or 281
sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fat, turned inside out, and drawn
over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-
spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the
edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the
hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire.

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. 294
These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 386
824

294
386
824 plants (1) is cut up into small pieces and placed in a cooking pot in such a way that at the bottom there is a layer of bark, then the bast strips, and on top of these bark pieces again. The whole is boiled for an hour in order to draw certain materials out of the bark; then the pot is carried to the river, and the bast strips are kneaded alternately in the loam of the bank and in the bark extract from five to seven times, one after another. The strips now have a blackish color which during the drying in the house darkens to the deepest black.

294 Proceeding to the actual making of the cap, the dried hide is taken off the block and propped up on the inner surface by three stirrups underneath placed crosswise. The stirrups consist of eight palm strips laid lengthwise next to each other and braided together with Triumfetta fiber. To wear the sharp-edged stirrups and the heavy gear can scarcely be pleasant, but the Negro's thick woolly skull probably does not feel it.

On the outer surface, on both sides of the crest line, 14 holes are drilled into the hide in two parallel longitudinal rows for the seven pineapple strings, half a meter long, which are drawn through two holes apiece. These strings are braided with the pigtails, each of which was made from three of the black bast strips mentioned above. They start from the middle, run in the sagittal direction to the front and back edge, extend somewhat beyond them, and

1. Combretacea *Terminalia superba* Engl. et Diels (*akŏ́m*), Euphorbiaceae *Bridelia zenkeri* Pax. (*ewṓlǒ́k*), *Alchornea cordifolia* Muell. Arg. (*abū́ī̄*, Ntum), *Megabarea trillesii* Pierre (*abū́ī̄-žăm*), Leguminosa *Mucuna flagellipes* Vogel (*kǫ́ndǭ́ǫ'-žăm*), Borraginacea *Cordia odorata* Gürke (*ébē*, Fang, *ebăi*, Ntum), Anacardiacea *Pseudospondias tessmannii* Engl. (*angŏkǫ̆n*), Flacourtiacea *Petersia minor* Niedenzú (*abiň*).

294 end in a knot (2). Twelve such longitudinal braids are placed close to one another. The space between these and the edge of the cap is filled by pigtails made in the same way but running at right angles to the others; at the edge they are covered by three rows of pigtails all the way around and are sewed to the hide. /179/ For this one requires a needle made of bark, whose tip has been hardened in the fire and whose other end has a slit for the fiber thread. The pigtails jutting out over the edge are cut off. A fringe (mbǭ́m), made of a piece of raffia pith, is put over the crown of the cap. The piece of pith is cut into on both its narrow sides so that it will bend more readily, and over it is sewn a piece of material on which is set a stirrup of the same width, made of palm strips and studded with brass nails -- these stirrups have been described above in connection with the inner surface of the cap. On either side of the fringe there ar~~e a fe~~w longitudinal rows of red beads strung on raffia fiber. Another decoration on the caps consists of pieces of leather sewn on at the sides, which have cowrie shells or white buttons stitched on them and from which are hung tassels of pineapple strings strung with beads (see Fig. 118, foreground).

The ornamental caps of the Fang are not made of hides but of palm strips, parallel to each other, which are braided with blackened Triumfetta fiber in such a way that one strip is always skipped, and thus a chessboard pattern is created.

302 Older people for the most part do not wear bead ornaments in their hair -- insofar as they still have any -- but on the contrary wear simpler hair arrangements which, incidentally, are supposed to have been more fashionable at one time.

291 Among head coverings we need only mention caps made from the hide of monkeys, civet cats, or of the ichneumon, Bdeogale
[534] nigripes Puch., as well as imported red caps which are worn by chiefs
291 and other elderly "notables." Hats made from leaves of grass
177 (Paspalum) sewn together resemble our ordinary straw hats in shape

2. In braiding, one frequently greases his fingers and twists the strips slightly.

291/177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of Costus (miěn), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa Cryptosepalum aff. staudtii Harms (andũń) and of the herb called afuń. The latter two are worn only by women and [304] usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai.

301 304 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text./ First the person concerned [304] presses the leaves of the Aframomum (adžǒm), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk

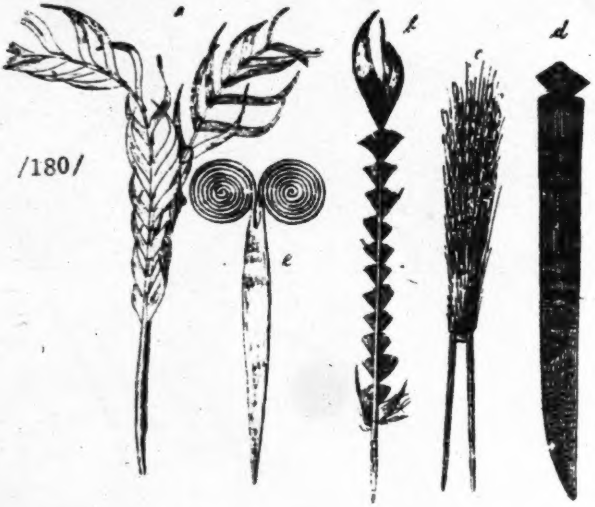

Fig. 120. Hair Ornaments

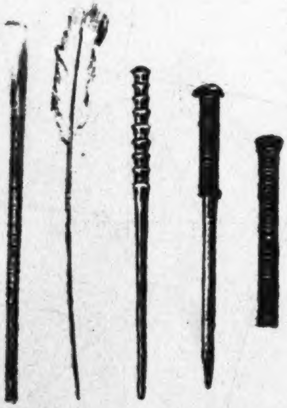

Fig. 121. Nose Ornaments.

301 304 of the *Trachyphrynium violaceum* (stalk, *nkómkǒ'mo* I; leaves, *dzĕdekiai* IV Ntum) onto the tip of the quill and pulls both back together until the stalk comes to rest in the septum. The stalk is supposed to keep the hole open for the later ornaments. The subsequent treatment serves the same purpose; every two days the wound is washed out and the stalk is renewed. /181/ After ten days the stalk is finally removed and replaced by the permanent ornaments. 301 The objects used for ornaments can scarcely all be enumerated: /Figs. 122 and 123 appear here in the original text/ stalks, leaves, blossoms of the *Gomphrena globosa* L. (*ngǒ'n*), with which we are already familiar as an ornamental plant, feathers (1), paper rolls, wooden rods strung with beads, raffia rods, rods or bones wrapped with brass wire, brass rings with a large bead that hangs down as far as the upper lip (see Fig. 132), and especially strings of beads, the ends of which are tied to the hairdo behind the ears, thus forming a cheek ornament at the same time. /Fig. 124 appears here in the original text./

Forehead ornaments are to be found in the following forms: strings of beads; bands of beads, which in the southern part of the Fang region often have very attractice patterns (Fig. 122); strips of black sheepskin (*tŭ̦t* IV); and sometimes among women nicely braided bast bands with tassels.

The neck, which one rarely sees without some kind of band or string, is amply provided with ornaments. In former times the fruit of the grass *Coix lacryma* L. (*mvă̦andú* III), the well-known Job's-tears (Fig. 123), used as a decoration in so many parts of the world, /182/ /Figs. 125 and 126 appear here in the original text/ was very popular, as were strung stalk pieces of the fern *Lygodium smithianum* Presl. (*ozǫ̌k*), whose name *ozǫ̌k* was subsequently

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1. The red tail feathers of the gray parrot and the crescent feathers of the cock are especially popular; both animals play an important role in the religion.

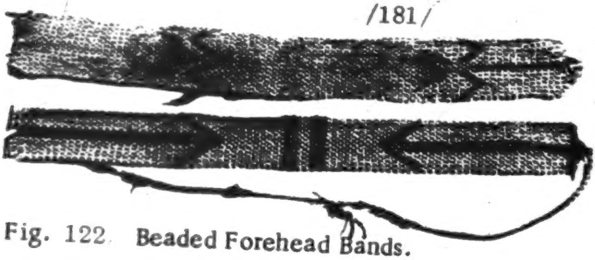

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Fig. 122 Beaded Forehead Bands.

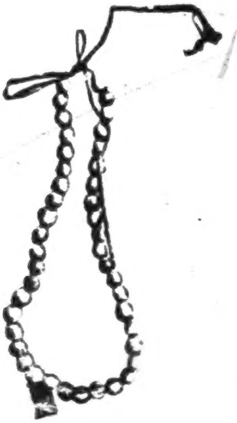

Fig. 123. Necklace of the Fruit of Coix lacryma (Job's-tears).

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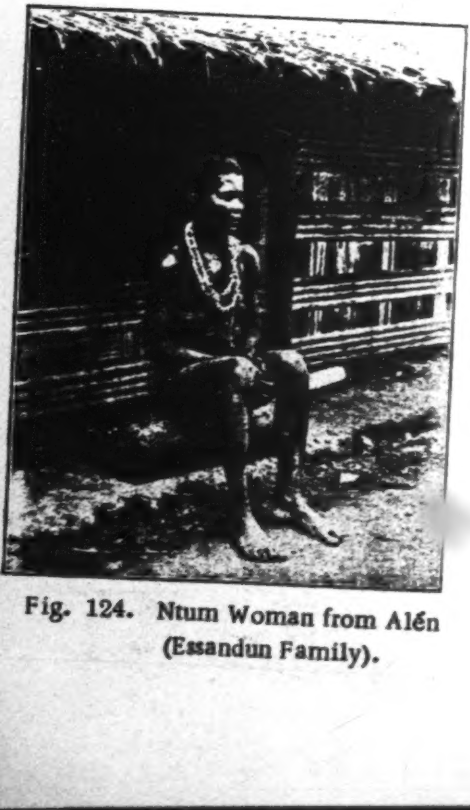

Fig. 124. Ntum Woman from Alén (Essandun Family).

30| transferred to the oblong red beads. Nowadays, however, since the introduction of glass beads which now predominate, they have long been out of favor as not elegant enough. Among other neck [174] ornaments we find among the women the fruit of the *Mucuna flagellipes* Vogel (*kŏndɔ̆'ɔ'-zăm* III); they are a symbol of faithfulness, although they are probably worn without the definite intention of winning faithfulness or keeping it (1). Other neck ornaments are: the strung incisors of long-tailed monkeys and dogs (Fig. 124 and 125); also used as pendants, the strung incisors of leopards and the tusks of boars (Fig. 127); simulated teeth made of the white, slightly pointed seeds of the palm *Podococcus barteri* Mann et Wendl. (*niamvǐne*), Figure 126, or from pieces of bone, as pendants; simulated horn made of /Fig. 127 appears here in the original text/ appropriately carved pieces of ebony (*Diospyros* varieties) and wound with brass wire, Figure 128; and finally a talon of the large fighting eagle *Spizaetus* (*ndüī'* IV), Figure 129 (2). Neck bands, as attractive as they are simple to produce, are made from strips of *Oncocalamus mannii* Wendl. (*nloṅ*) or *Trachyphrynium violaceum* (*nkŏmokɔ̆'mo*), held together by a graceful braid of *Rhectophyllum* threads. /Figs. 128 and 129 appear here in the original text./ There is a noteworthy neck ornament made of the fragrant roots of the Urticacea *Trymatococcus africanus* H. Baillon (*ngɔ̄'na* IV), which among the Ntum is worn

1. This liana is the symbol of faithfulness because it twines around a single tree and does not, like the majority of tropical lianas and climbing plants, overrun all the trees and shrubs within its reach.

[177] 2. European trinkets are also to be found as pendants among the Pangwe. These include cartridges, keys, and padlocks.

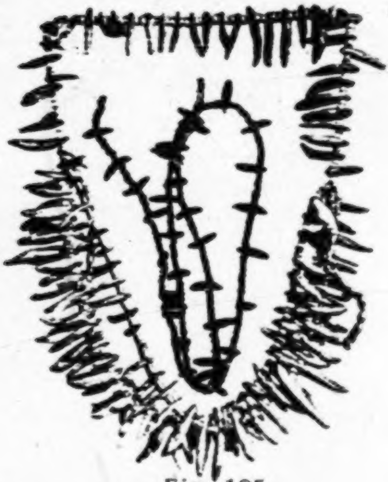

Fig. 125
Necklace of Teeth from Dogs and Long-tailed Monkeys.
Fig. 126. Necklace of Simulated Teeth made from the Seeds of the Podococcus barteri.

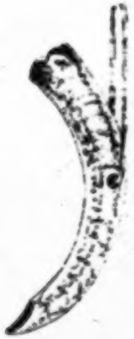

Fig. 127. Pendant of a Neck Ornament (Tusk of a Wild Boar).

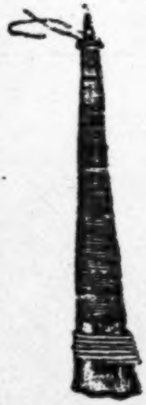

Fig. 128. Pendant of Ebony, Wound with Brass Wire. Simulated Horn.

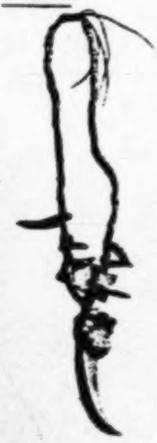

Fig. 129. Necklace with the Talon of a Fighting Eagle.

30 only by women but among the Fang by members of either sex. It is called /183/ egbwẽ ĩ', ngõ'na IV Fang, or azǒm-e-sĩ, Ntum (see Plate 12). Halved lengthwise and dried, the roots are bound by a double string to form a neckband (Fig. 131, a) or are twined together to form a tassel-shaped pendant (Figure 131, b), the whole being dyed usually with red wood. A neck ruff made of bast and worn by members of either sex is not very common. Because of its appearance, the ruff is called etũ'ga-ntýma, "sheep's mane" (Fig. 131, c). Similarly, a bast neck ornament for little girls (ngõne) is rarely worn. /Figs. 130 and 131 appear here in the original text./

30 326 Iron neck rings are very rare nowadays; correspondingly, neck rings made of brass (mvǎt I) are all the more frequent. These are cast in heavy and light varieties. The former, that is, the heavy brass rings, have two different forms. The first has edges that project like a cornice and no ornamentation (Fig. 132). The other one is triangular in cross-section and in the middle of the two front surfaces, as well as frequently along the upper edge, is provided with engraved patterns (myǒte zǎn; see Fig. 14). The manufacture of these rings will be described in connection with brass founding. 30 It is not easy to wear such a ring, which weighs up to three pounds, nor is it easy to put it on, for it is softened anew in the fire and bent apart so that its lucky owner can force his neck into it, and then it is tapped together again on the anvil. It is even harder to take the ring off. To do this, the person concerned lies down on his back; one end of the ring is secured to a tree stump while the other end is connected to a lever by means of a liana, and the ring is forced off with the lever. Prior to this, one must not forget to rub the neck thoroughly with oil or with sap from the leaves of the Clerodendron /184/ /Fig. 132 appears here in the original text/ büttneri Gürke (mayúlu-ndžĩk III). [172] By way of a popular, quick, and cheap substitute, servants of Europeans use tin cans which they transform into a neck ring by taking off the lid and the bottom. Similarly, European collars are to them an extremely welcome cultural acquisition which they make their own, frequently before they acquire trousers and shirts.

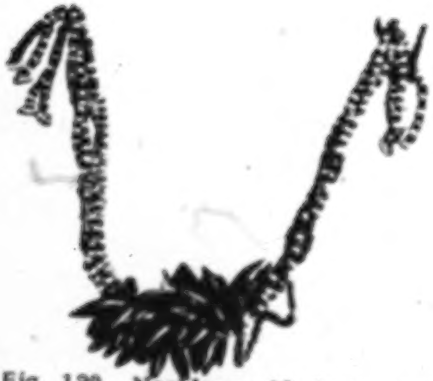

Fig. 130. Necklace with the Fruit of *Chrysophyllum tessmannii* Engl. (*mbam*).

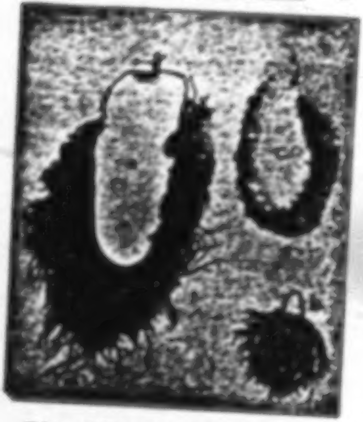

Fig. 131. Neck Ornaments.

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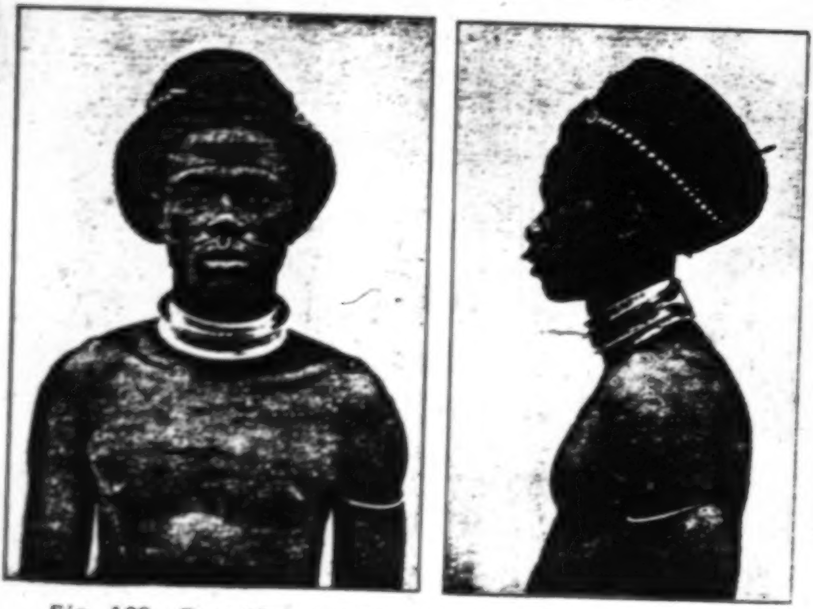

Fig. 132. Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

301 Breast ornaments are to be found chiefly among women in the form of strings of beads and rough brass chains that hang very low. As one might imagine, these can be recommended only for older ladies.

Especially among women, the arms and legs are just as profusely covered with ornaments. The upper and lower arm or both are adorned with spirals of imported brass wire or with hoops from imported brass tubing (Fig. 133). For the upper arm, the spirals are shorter, while for the lower arm they are usually so long that they completely cover it. The less common upper arm rings made of strips of *Laccosperma* or *Trachyphrynium* are placed close together and joined by a pretty braid of *Rhectophyllum* (Fig. 134). Only men wear strips of black sheepskin on their upper arms; these match the forehead bands of the same material. Rings or bands around the /185/ wrist are among the most popular ornaments. Even children put the stalks of the Rubiacea *Megalopus mannii* K. Sch. (*ngŏ́ne* III) in spirals around their arms. Adults -- men and women -- wear rings made from liana stalks, braided palm bands (Fig. 135), the hairs of an elephant's tail, cast brass or brass wire whose

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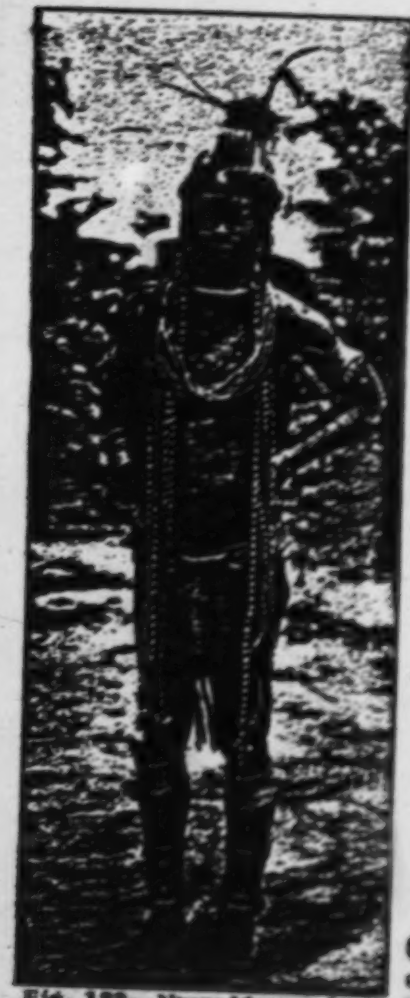

Fig. 138. [illegible] Woman from Akonangi (Emandum Family).

ends are entwined like two tendrils (nkib I, Fig. 136, a), or fine brass wire wound around itself (Fig. 136, b). They also wear bands braided from Oncocalamus and thick rings made of ivory or elephant bones (ekǒm e zǫk) or an imitation made from the wood of the Alstonia (ekük) called ng[k] ekük, "elephant" (that is, ivory from the Alstonia). All three varieties are especially worn by chiefs. Among the Jaunde there are attractively worked, thin arm hoops made of ivory.

Finger rings (Fig. 137) are made of ivory (a), horn (1) (b) blackened in raffia palm oil, and brass. Of the latter there are spirals (c-d), simple thin rings whose ends are slightly entwined (e), bands, and thicker, often slightly ornamented hoops (f).

By and large, leg ornaments are similar to those for the arm; here too, shorter brass spirals worn above the knee are the most frequent. Women also wear them just below the knee and, again, they alone wear longer ones which extend from the middle of the calf down to the ankle. In addition, both sexes wear massive or hollow brass rings as well as the peculiar, finely decorated brass foot covers (ekät, ngob IV). /186/

[4ea 29]

1. Of the black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus callipygus Pus. (mvin IV).

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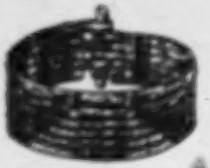

Fig. 134. Arm Band of Palm Strips.

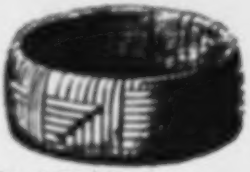

Fig. 135. Braided Arm Band.

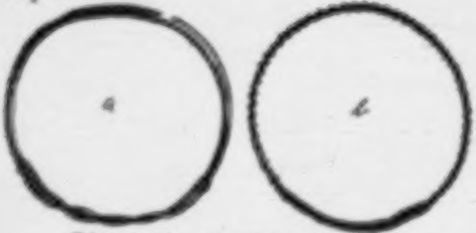

Fig. 136. Brass Bracelets.

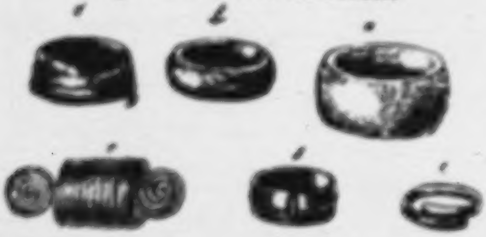

Fig. 137. Finger Rings.

Rings are put on the toes, frequently on all five of them, just as they are worn on the fingers.

[481] Because of all these adornments the women look overburdened and unattractive (Fig. 138, see also Fig. 133), especially since the adornments give them a walk even more ungainly and heavy than they already have. As a consequence of the heavy burdens that they must carry, they have a waddling walk which announces itself from afar by a rhythmic clatter. In short, the native beauties would not be exactly pleasing to the divine Muse, Terpsichore. In addition, the ornaments are troublesome beyond just their weight; the ankle rings, for instance, rub the skin until it is raw and are then tied with a string to the rings worn above the calves.

3. Care of the body.

515 539 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people, cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

otū[k] -mfŏŏ	a	dẑŏnā:	kā	mvǒń
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is	rain

[186]

1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

a	bŏ́de	ma,	ngbǎna	a	wǒ́ban	e	madẑí'm	a
it	wets	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it

bē	ma	anǐ
was	for me	just!

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

164 515 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 319 314 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (ogbwǎ́m Fang, ogbwǒ'mē Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.

515 278 314 There are no fleas, but on the other hand there are vast numbers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea Doacanga diplochlamys K. Sch. (oǒ metǐǒ Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea Quassia africana Baill. (tlǒ-elí'), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea Heteropteris africana A. Juss.

515 (mfúm-e-ndzík IV) and the Simarubacea Odyendea gabunensis
278 (Pierre) Engl. (ozǒk). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia
824 vogelii H. f. (ndăwólō III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks (akṓga) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the original text./

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure. "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (miẽmegũmo III) has been put in it, the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.

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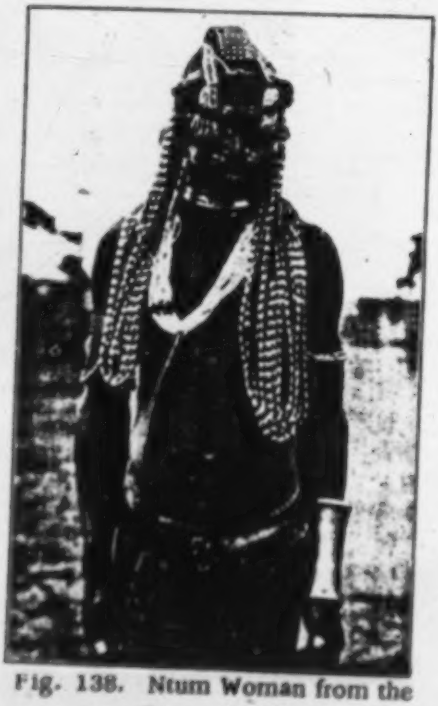

Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region.

302 The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is
824 tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvăs IV), those carved entirely out

302 824 of wood (Fig. 139, *b-d*) and those put together from short sticks of raffia leafstalk bark (Fig. 139, *a*). Frequently a fragrant hair powder (*akūt*), used by members of either sex but made only by women, is added to the oil. In preparing it, the roots of the following four plants are mixed together:

1. Cyperacea *Cyperus articulatus* L. (*andǎk*);
2. Moracea *Dorstenia scabra* (Bureau) Engl. (*azǒ'm* Fang);
3. Urticacea *Trymatococcus africanus* H. Baillon (*ngō'nǎ* III);
4. An undetermined grass called *niasǎda*.

/Figs. 139 and 140 appear here in the original text./ /189/ /Fig. 141 appears here in the original text./ In any case, they mix two or three of these roots if they cannot get all four of them. The roots have to dry for two months in the hut and are then completely ground to a powder -- in the case of the *Trymatococcus* this is done only with the bark -- and they are then sifted through a basketwork plate by tapping it with a knife (*a kūt*, "to tap"). The roots produce an agreeably scented yellowish powder.

302 827 The Pangwe dislike hair on the rest of the body as much as they dislike it on the face. Underarm hair is shaved off with a razor (Fig. 140) "because of the bad smell"; pubic hair is shaved off -- again by both sexes -- because it is believed to cause itching. /Fig. 142 appears here in the original text./ There are, of course, always people, like good old Otu-Mfɔ̆ɔ̆, who will not bother with this kind of attention to the body.

412 Just as we use pocket knives, the native uses /190/ one-edged or two-edged knives (*okǒń*), Figures 141 and 142, which he forges himself and carries in sheaths made of brass, leather, hide, etc. at his belt.

515 164 The farther north one goes in the region, the more industriously do the Pangwe brush their teeth. This is done with a stick spliced at the top (Fig. 143) which at times is attractively wound with brass and wire and often serves as a walking stick. Nevertheless the Pangwe do not have nearly such good teeth as one might imagine. Among the Fang at least I never once saw an immaculate set of teeth among adults. The molars are often astonishingly poor, but the front teeth, on the other hand, which are commonly chipped to a point, are better preserved, perhaps because they alone are properly brushed.

515 302 The most important toilet article of both sexes is unquestionably the small oil pot. As often as possible, the Pangwe rub themselves with oil from head to toe, but above all they take care of their hair or, as the case may be, their hairdo. One reason for this, as they say, is that they find the smell of the oil pleasant; a second is that the skin becomes more supple and resistant, in other words, it is a hygienic reason. Add to this the fact -- as was mentioned above --

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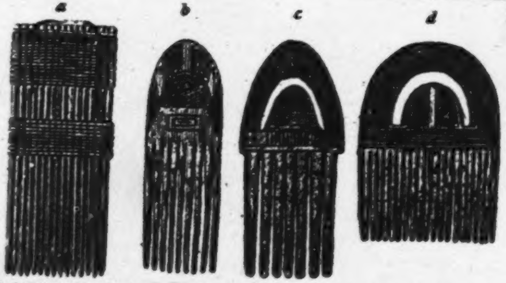

Fig. 139. Combs: (a) made of raffia leafstalk, (b-d) made of wood.

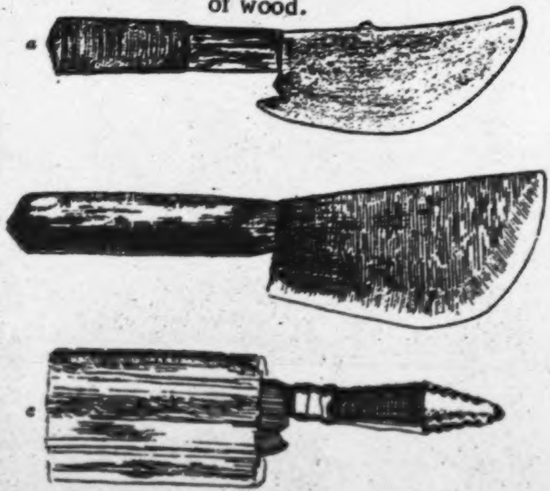

Fig. 140. Razors, (c) with a sheath made of raffia pith.

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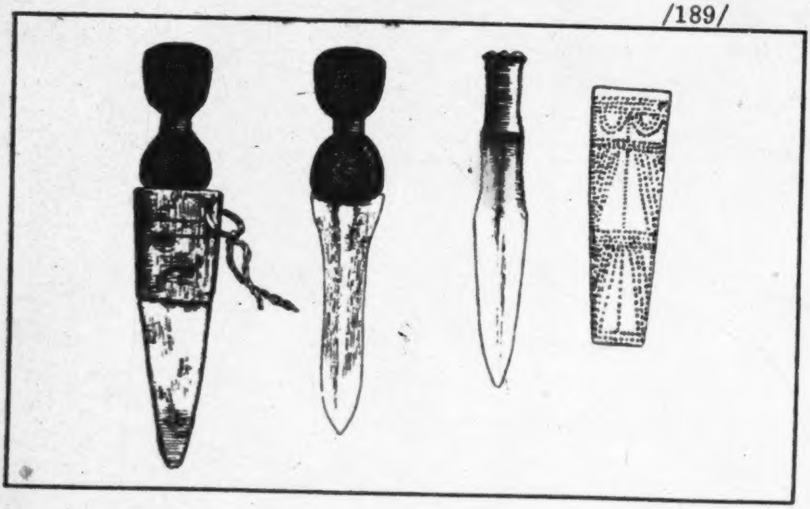

Fig. 141. Two-edged Fang Knives with Sheaths.

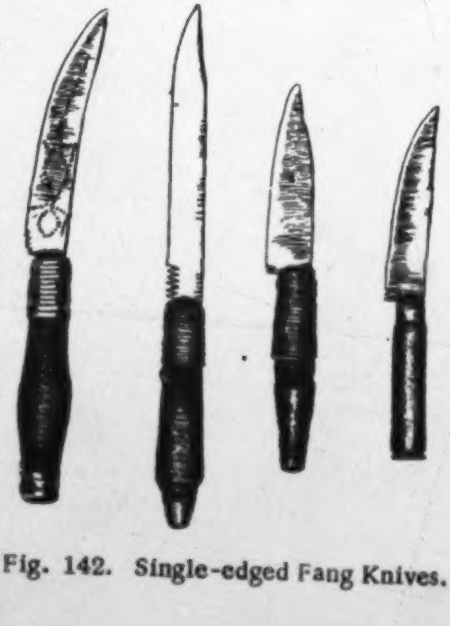

Fig. 142. Single-edged Fang Knives.

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302 that raffia palm oil is evidently offensive to lice /Fig. 143 appears here in the original text/ and prevents them from becoming too intimate with their "host." In the case of skin diseases [757] (Krokro /Ed.,?/ and scabies) and of sand flea wounds, it is even used as a remedy.

Oil (mbǒn) is obtained mainly from palms: in the north, only from the oil palm; in the south, rarely from this tree and mainly from the raffia palm. At times it is also produced from the kernels of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adžǎ'b; fruit, ebǒn; kernels, ngǒ'n IV-ebǒn), from the kernels of the Carapa procera D. C. (engǎ'n), and only very rarely from groundnuts (see page 58).

The oil of the raffia palm is used exclusively for the care of the skin, while that of the oil palm is used for the same purpose

Fig. 143. Toothbrush.

for the greater part, only from one-sixth to one-fifth being consumed as food.

(a) Raffia palm oil.

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303 The fruit (ažǚi'), not yet fully ripe, is carried in baskets from the swamp to the village where they are kept for six days under banana leaves and pieces of banana stalks. Then the scaly shell, insofar as it has not fallen in of its own accord, is removed, and the layer rich in oil, which is located between the armor and the seed, is peeled off by hand or with the help of a scale *from the* shell. The following riddle refers to the latter procedure. /191/ /Fig. 144 appears here in the original text./
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ma	vũi		mot	oko,		okǒn,	o	mbe	a
I	killed	(a)	person	there,	(the)	knife,	it	was	to him

nie	abum	a	si,	o	wo	ma	ba	nie
(at the)	belly	below,		with	which	I	divide	him

a	oa
for	you!

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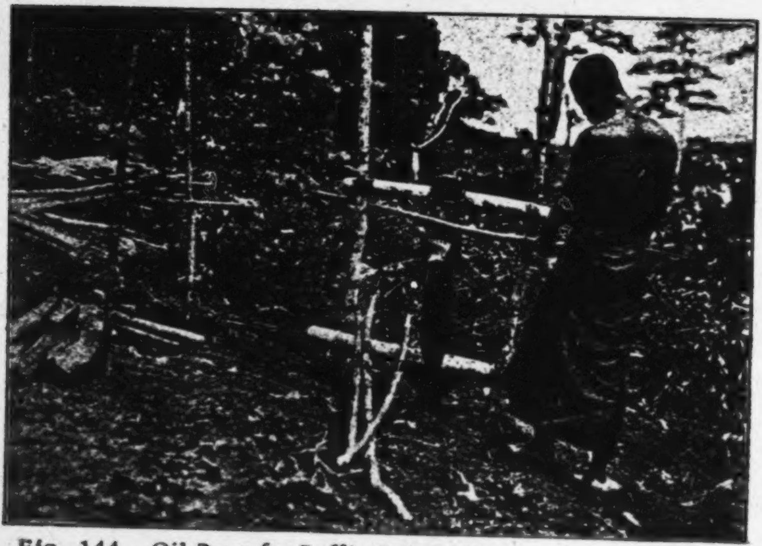

Fig. 144. Oil Press for Raffia Palm Oil.
To the left the pulp containing oil is being heated over the fire.

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"With the knife that he had below at his belly, I shall divide him for you."

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A little water is added to the pulp which contains the oil; it is stirred and then placed on a piece of bark to lie in the sun for a few days. It is then put on a frame (Fig. 144, left) and, by means of a fire laid under it, is thoroughly heated for half an hour to an hour. Afterwards it is placed in a little basket, [445] specifically made for this purpose (ekūt ažų̄ī') from the Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), which is squeezed out on the oil press (ekí'le-mažų̄ī', efăī-ažų̄ī'). Although this press is made *by one man alone, it may be used by all the villagers.* In most villages it is set up near the meeting house and consists of a frame -- two posts planted in the ground at some distance from each other with two cross-sticks tied to them -- and of a board cut to a point near the bottom and attached sideways to the frame, that is to say, it is simply tied to the upper cross-stick (as seen in Fig. 144), or it may be held by means of a pole set at an angle in the ground and passing through a hole drilled in the board at the upper end. In order to hold it tight, 249 303 the board is tied to the /192/ lower cross-stick. Sometimes in place of the board one sees sticks oriented in the same direction and placed close to each other, which are then, of course, tied to the frame at the top and at the bottom.

The pressing itself (a kīle mažũ̄ī́) is shown in Figure 144. The little basket with the pulp is hung either over the stick that is set at an angle or over the upper end of the board (Fig. 144), so that it rests in front of the board. Then it is squeezed out with sticks. In squeezing, one stick after another is placed diagonally over the basket (in a top to bottom direction); one end of the stick is placed behind the corresponding frame post while the other end is drawn up to the other post and fastened to it with string. In this way the basket is squeezed, and the contents are pressed downwards.

Prior to this, a vessel has been placed under the board down which the oil runs during the pressing. A leaf filter or an old basket over the vessel strains out the larger impurities. During the rainy season the fruit yields a more watery oil, while during the dry season it yields an oil that becomes solid very soon after being pressed out.

(b) Oil palm oil.

249 252 Corresponding to the more infrequent occurrence of the oil palm from north to south, oil from the oil palm is of much greater importance in the north than in the south. In the former region it is better prepared -- if at this point I may speak of it as a food -- even if it is not prepared as well as among the coastal tribes -- while in the latter region it is less well prepared. Furthermore, while in the south there are only three methods of obtaining the oil, in the north there are four and an equal number of varieties of oil corresponding to the methods of extraction. These are as follows: /193/ /Fig. 145 appears here in the original text/

1. Pressed palm oil (mowǔ, plural), for rubbing on the skin and food;
2. Boiled palm oil (nnyǎman e mbǒn), only for rubbing on the skin;
3. Washed palm oil (žob), Jaunde and Mwele, used for rubbing on the skin and for food;

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4. Palm seed oil (mbŏ̌n e mbań, maniańga Jaunde), used only for the skin.

In the order given, from 1) to 4), the frequency of production decreases. In other words, pressed oil is made most frequently, palm seed oil is made most rarely. The order is the same for the southern Pangwe, except that washed oil is completely absent.

1) Pressed oil.

The stalks bearing the ripe fruit are taken off the tree, cut apart by means of axe and cutlass, and left to lie for a couple of days under a blanket of banana leaves. Then the fruit itself is taken off and boiled with a little water for about half an hour in a pot covered with leaves. Afterwards, it is pounded in a trough with a wooden pestle, and the seeds are picked out (Fig. 145). The pulp is then pressed out on the oil press. The oil has the familiar yellowish-red color, and among Europeans it appears on the dinner table as "palm oil chop" with meat and the tubers of [262] macabo or taro; however, only a small proportion of the natives eat it (one-quarter, in the south even less).

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Fig. 145. Extraction of Oil from the Fruit of the Oil Palm.

2) Boiled oil.

249 The pressed oil is boiled until it becomes quite clear, a
252 stage which can best be recognized by letting a few drops of oil
824 fall onto a piece of raffia pith. During the boiling, a number of
leaves of the feverweed *Andropogon schoenanthus* (*ošim e ntaňgan*), which has a peculiar smell, tied in a bundle and dipped into the pot for about a minute. When the oil has boiled long enough, the pot is taken from the fire, leaves and pieces of bark of the bush plum *Pachylobus edulis* E. Don. (*asắ'* Ntum, *ošŭ́'nga* Fang) are put in it for about three minutes -- supposedly because they have a pleasant smell -- and then the translucent, dirty-white oil is poured off.

3) Washed oil.

249 The oil is first treated like the pressed oil. After the pound-
252 ing, water is poured into the trough, and the meat of the fruit is
thoroughly kneaded, the kernels being removed at the same time. The water is then carefully poured off. This process of kneading the meat in the water is repeated two more times; then the meat is removed, and the oil floating on the water in the trough is ladled off. The oil has the same characteristics as the pressed oil; it is also yellowish-red and is used in the same manner. This oil may likewise be boiled, and when this is done, it is identical with the boiled pressed oil. /194/

4) Palm seed oil.

The palm nuts are broken open on a stone (Fig. 146), and the seeds are heated over a fire in a pot without water. Then the seeds are set on fire, which forces out the oil that they contain. The seeds with the oil are then poured onto a potsherd with two holes in it, and the oil drips into a vessel placed underneath. Palm seed oil is quite dark and opaque.

302 Finally, we might mention that children -- adults only if there happens to be no oil available -- sometimes simply place the palm fruit between the logs of the fire and then rub the warm fruit back and forth in their hands. The oil which is forced out in this way is then immediately rubbed onto the skin.

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822 Aside from rubbing his skin with oil, the Pangwe likes to smear his body with dyes on certain occasions. For this purpose he uses red chiefly, more rarely white, and only exceptionally black. There are no other colors. Red is the color for joy,

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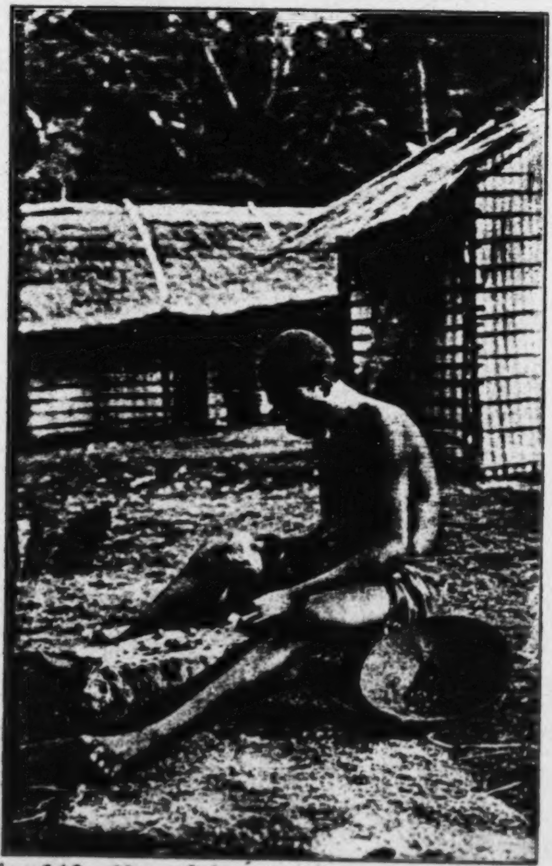

Fig. 146. Nuts of the oil palm are cracked open to extract the oil.

and white is the color for death and evil. From this, the occasions on which the colors are used will be apparent. On festive occasions, that is, dances, weddings, and birth celebrations, red is used, a color which sometimes (for instance, in the love dance) is enlivened by white suns and circles, which seldom

302 822 appear in black. The natives also put lozenge-shaped /195/ spots (bendŏ[k] be ba, "lozenges from the redwood") on the skin, or they leave lozenge-shaped areas uncolored when they paint themselves red, in both cases with the help of a stencil, that is, a /Fig. 147 appears here in the original text/ leaf from which a lozenge-shaped piece has been cut out. On occasions of mourning and cult activities dedicated to the "Evil One," on the other hand, they wear white.

386 Red dye (bā III, esī) is obtained from the heart of the redwood tree Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub. (mvō̈' IV Fang, mvē IV Ntum), a Leguminosa. They prefer old trees that have fallen down and are already rotten on the outside. A piece of convenient size is knocked off, and using it as a scraper (nīăk-esī, IV) they rub it on the rubbing block (nīĕ-esī), which is the trunk, going back and forth and sprinkling fine sand on it from time to time. Once I saw the husk of the Leguminosa Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth. (ebā'i), Figure 147, used as a scraper. When the nearest redwood tree is at so great a distance that it is impracticable to run to it whenever dye is needed, a small log and a scraper is taken to the hut in order to be able to produce the favored red dye at all times without any trouble. Very charming little vessels in [415] the form of pots, troughs, plates, or stools are used as containers for the dye (Fig. 148). /Fig. 148 appears here in the original text./

White dye(vṻok IV) is obtained from the white clay of the same name, a kind of pottery clay which usually is darker. It is applied after being mixed with water. Black dye is prepared from crushed charcoal to which water is added (dye and charcoal, pfĭ'di III).

4. Decoration of the body.

302 304 We recognized the adornment of the body with different objects as the expression of a purely esthetic urge; we recognized the desire to express personal moods as the motive for painting the body. /196/ On the other hand, religious reasons doubtless originally played a role in the constant alterations made on the body. This seems clear, for instance, with respect to the custom of making the teeth pointed and incising the body. These very

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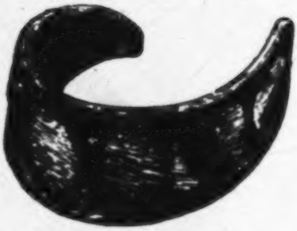

Fig. 147. Scraper for Red Wood (Husk of the Pentaclethra).

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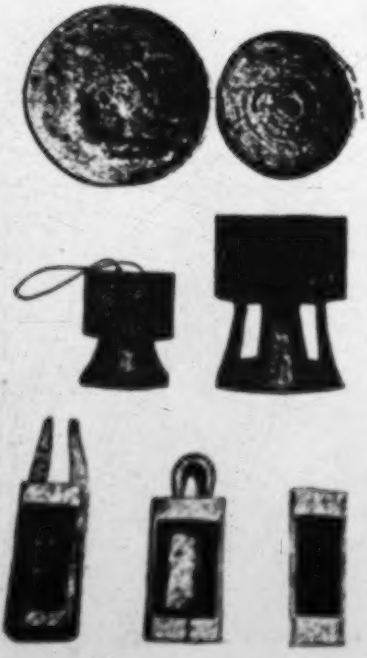

Fig. 148. Vessels for Red Wood.

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304 ancient notions have of course been forgotten today, and the idea of decoration for the most part has completely overshadowed the religious background.

In the Pangwe region four kinds of actual body decoration are to be encountered. These are burned scars, decorative scars, painting, and tattooing. This sequence is also to be understood in a temporal sense, from the point of view of their historical development. I consider the burned scars to be of the greatest antiquity. We may presume that they first came about accidentally as a result of the use of fire; then, at a later date, they were produced intentionally through dabbing with red-hot coals. These burned scars were later replaced by "cut" scars, that is, by decorative scars produced with a knife, since the knife allowed a finer and more artistic tracing of the line. It may be that at this point younger people, out of fear of the pain, simulated the burned scars by drawing corresponding points or lines on their body with coals that had cooled off. In this way the painting of the body may have started, and this was then further developed with other and better materials. A link between the decorative scars and painting is provided by tattooing; in this process the wounds are rubbed with charred resin.

In my opinion, accordingly, all the varieties of body decoration derive from a common root, fire. In this connection a brief linguistic consideration may be of value. As I already indicated on page 8 /not translated/, kǎ is the original stem used to designate hostile motion to and fro, pain and danger, cold and heat (for the effect of both is the same), and consequently also fire whenever its effect is to be emphasized. Thus, for example, we have n-kǎ-bǎ = the flame; e-kǎ'ha = what is needed for a flame, a torch; a kǎ'-d-an = to set fire with a red-hot coal (an); -k-ad? = red-hot charcoal (see Meinhof, Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen /Outline of a Phonology of the Bantu Languages/, page 160, not known to me in Pangwe); me-kǎ elǐ = the name of a tree which supplies charcoal, literally: "charcoal tree"; a kǎ́-ó = to draw with charcoal, to draw, to write, to brand, to paint (with black); e-kǎ'-ó = tattooing; n-kǎ'-ń = the one who has been drawn, the guinea hen (also sacred, Class I of prefixes; see the Mekang cult).

304 Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndŭtŏ'lŏ III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leafstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /197/ and set on fire at the top; it then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great
[184] antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Bene only
[177] on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Pangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introdûced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ myȧ̆ṅ (plural) by the Ntum, endŏ'ṅ by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (tsa̱ă III Ntum, endŏ'ṅ Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okŏṅ e myȧ̆ṅ), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

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[184] Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obĕ̆ndĕ̆m (1) or fĭna IV (2), as well as mfĭna; among

1. Derived from abĕ̆, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndĕ̆m, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem yĭ̆n, "dark, black"; e-yĭ̆n-di mŏt, "Black (man), Negro."

386
302 the Ntum it is called abę̆ndę̆m or kūdemă'n IV.

The names fĭna (mfĭ'na) and kūdemă'n also designate the painting of the body itself. /Fig. 150 appears here in the original text/

The Randia is a slender tree belonging to the Rubiaceae and grows especially in the vicinity of rivers. Its large whitish blossoms hang from the ends of the twigs or from the forks in the branches; its fruit is a berry covered with a number of protuberances running from top to bottom. To obtain the dye a short stick of bark from a raffia leafstalk is drilled into the base of the fruit and stirred about in the contents of the fruit. When the stick is pulled out, a whitish, fairly thick juice sticks to its tip, and with the same stick this is painted directly onto the body in the desired patterns; /198/ after a brief period of time the dye takes on a deep blue-black coloring. The paint stays on the skin from three to four days; in cases of more frequent washing, only two. Afterwards it simply disappears.

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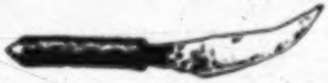

Fig. 149. Knife for Making Decorative Scars.

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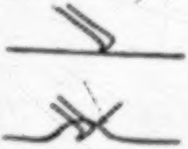

Fig. 150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar.

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178 Nowadays only small or half-grown boys paint themselves for sport. In former times, however, young people of both sexes did it in order to be conspicuous and in this way to make an impression upon the opposite sex. In those days, therefore, great care was taken with the patterns. Today, only smeared patterns result from the children's lack of skill. /Fig. 151 appears here in the original text./

304 Tattooing, which was introduced about 20 years ago, replaced body painting; from it tattooing derived its names, fĭ'na and kūdemăn, and among the Fang it also received the name for decorative scars, myắń. Among the Ntum, furthermore, it is called ekắ'n (see above), and among the Jaunde,

Fig. 151. Decorative Scar Artist at Work, Bébai, Spanish Guinea.

ofū (from ofū, "resin," which is rubbed into the wounds and brings out the permanent pattern). According to the Fang,
304 tattooing came to them from the north between the early and
177 middle 1890's. Among the Bene, who probably acquired tattooing from the east, only younger people are tattooed. It follows from this that the art must have spread throughout the

304 177 entire Pangwe region with extraordinary rapidity. In part, this spread may have been facilitated by the influence of military events. It is related that the /199/ Ntum, in their battles with the Bulu, saw tattooing on the corpses of dead enemies and made their prisoners show them the art.

304 832 Tattooing occurs among members of both sexes, but especially among males. It serves very much the same purposes that were formerly served by body painting. The young people adorn themselves with it in order to outstrip others in courtship. Ornaments and courtship are one, "one and the same" (a ne dzám eda eda), as the Pangwe says. It is certainly true that attractive patterns can charm the eyes so much that one involuntarily comes to find its (male or female) owner more attractive than would have been the case without such an influence upon the sense of beauty.

304 Even small boys have themselves tattooed. Usually a half-moon pattern is made on their foreheads, but for the most part it is only faintly scratched in and therefore fades again so that scarcely anything remains visible under the patterns later applied. From the period of puberty on, the Pangwe have themselves tattooed more frequently, and at the age of 25 years, by which time this decoration has just about reached its climax, the number of patterns is quite considerable. Normally, face, shoulder, chest, and the belly down to the navel are tattooed. Frequently, tattoos are also applied to the back -- usually only on the upper half -- and to the arm down to below the elbow joint, rarely to the hands and lower arm or to the belly below the navel (1).

1. On the neck only among the Jaunde and infrequently among them.

304 571 For reasons of modesty, the seat and upper thigh remain free of tattooed adornment, since it would, after all, be too indecent to draw attention by means of the patterns to these parts of the body which, with the original mode of dress, "unfortunately" often remain uncovered. Only in exceptional cases does one see women among the Jaunde, Bulu, and coastal Mwai who have tattooed

304 577 upper thighs, a custom which was imported by the morally loose Jaunde. The people generally regard the custom as shameful, and they excuse it by saying: "After all they are only women; men would be ashamed to go around this way" (similarly, as among us, only women go around "décolleté").

304 Among the Pangwe the division of labor and specialization in all areas of artistic and intellectual endeavor are extreme, and this also appears in the art of tattooing which is mastered by perhaps only one in a hundred. The operation, which, incidentally, is quite unpleasant although not nearly as painful as the decorative scars, is performed in the meeting house without any kind of formalities. The "patient" sits or lies down during the process (Fig. 152). First of all, soot is made by burning some resin (*otū*), see page 42, and letting the smoke deposit the soot on a potsherd. The artist first traces the pattern on the body by /200/ /Fig. 152 appears here in the original text/ impressing the curved lines with a flexible, moist leaf of grass that has first been placed in ashes and the straight lines with a similarly treated raffia stick. The lines that project too far are carefully wiped away with a wet finger. For the "cobweb pattern" the artist makes use of a pistil of the hand-shaped leaf of the umbrella tree (Musanga), whose ribs are broken off one centimeter above the base after the removal of the leafy part. On the lines he has drawn, he uses his knife to make little diagonal incisions very close to one another, wipes away the blood that seeps out if it is in the way, and rubs the wounds with the resin soot, carefully pressing it in with his thumb or index finger. In other cases, the resin itself, after it has been rubbed to a powder, is put into the wounds, but in that case only resin from the Anonacea *Xylopia aethiopica*(Dun.) V. Rich. (*ojāh*). The surface of the tattoooed part of the body is now /Figs. 153, 154, and 155 appear here iin the original text/ washed to get rid of the blood and soot. Later, rubbing with resin is repeated once more. It sometimes happens that /201/ small swellings form on the wounds which diminish the beauty of the pattern; usually, however, the wounds heal smoothly in a very short period of time.

304 413 Two types of tattooing are distinguished. There is the widespread *ekū*, and secondly there is the *endōŋ*, the customary one

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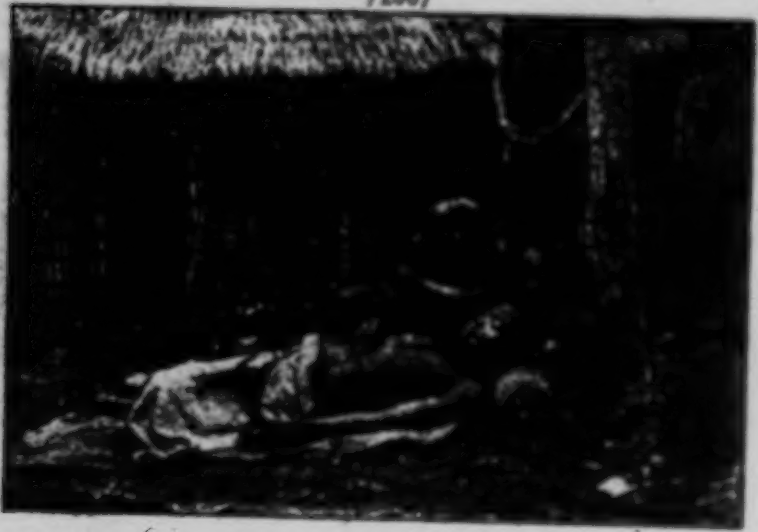

Fig. 152. Tattoo Artist at Work, Nkolentángan, Spanish Guinea.

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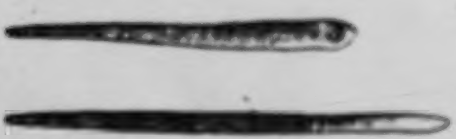

Figs. 153 and 154. Knives without Handles for Tattooing (ekut).

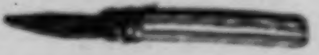

Fig. 155. Knife for Tattooing (bendolo).

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413 among the Fang. The first type is performed with a narrow knife with no handle (mšǒ-bekĭft I), Figure 153, and, depending upon the depth of the parallel incisions, shows lines composed of clearly raised cuts or, less distinctly, uniformly dark lines. For endǒlo tattooing, an ordinary razor (okǒngǒn), see Figure 140, or a special scalpel-like knife (ôkôn e mvǒô), Figure 155, is used. Its patterns are characterized by the crisscrossing of its cuts; in later years, however, they can scarcely be distinguished from the bekĭft, especially since both pale with age.

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465 Tattoo artists are usually not paid when members of their own kin group are concerned, but from strangers they frequently demand shamelessly high prices. Thus, the man represented in Figure 218, Drawing (c), was thoroughly swindled, as will be apparent from the figures given here in the footnote (1). At the

1. Tattooing of Mangame-Seli, Fang from Ebiãnemajong (Essauong family); see Figure 218, Drawing c.

	Marks
(a) Made by Meka-Mendongo (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
(b, c, d) Made by Akoa-Mbelewe (Jenkông) for two cutlasses	1.00
(e) Made by Mba-Efanga (Essauong) for five strings of beads	.50
(g, h) Made by Endongo (Essauong) for one ell of cloth	.75
(i, k) Made by Ndong-Ela (Jemwam) for three cutlasses	1.50
(f, l, m) Made by Ndong-Mutum (Omwang) for three cutlasses	1.50
(n, o) Made by Meko-Mefanga (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
Decorative scars, made by Meba-Mendongo (Jibikon) for one hen .	1.00

304 465 same time, it should be noted that because of his tattooing mania some people considered him "as not quite normal." In true Negro fashion, the absence of a charge for tattooing is explained by saying that the tattooed person does not feel the pain so strongly if he does not have to pay. These conditions, however, vary greatly from place to place. Among the Jaunde payment is customary, and often it is comparatively steep.

304 825 Mutilation of the teeth occurs everywhere among members of both sexes. It is done mainly to the four upper incisors. Aside from decorative considerations, this mutilation doubtless also has a deeper religious basis which is very ancient and still alive in the Negroes. They -- as I was once told -- do not want their teeth to look like animal teeth (2). Since it is indeed a fact that

[171] 2. See also the same attitude among the Malays and the Negroes of the Sudan (according to Frobenius).

no /202/ large mammals have pointed front teeth (for it is with these that we are concerned)(1), this reason seems credible even

[172] 1. See the expressions for tooth chipping below, in which the expression for tooth is always asás "front tooth." There is no word for teeth in general; on the other hand there are terms for canines, incisors of animals ([illegible]), and molars ([illegible]).

though to us pointed teeth look precisely like animal teeth since when we think of the gaping jaw of an animal, the prominent incisors are the dominant feature. The Pangwe thinks first of the animal's front teeth, and, especially in the case of horned animals, he finds a surprising similarity to his own. In making this comparison, he is not disturbed by the fact that the similarity extends only to the front teeth of the lower jaw, which resemble the front teeth of his lower jaw, since ruminants usually have no

304 teeth in their upper jaw. A glance at the animal caricatures in
825 our own comic papers shows how human, almost too human even,
the front teeth of our cattle, for instance, appear to us. It
304 should be remembered that horned animals, tame (goats and
825 sheep) as well as wild (antelopes), play an important role in the
794 religion of the Pangwe since they are linked with the moon be-
cause of their horns. The cult of the moon, however, is the cult
/Figs. 156 and 157 appear here in the original text/ of the Evil
One. Accordingly, mutilation of the teeth is a symbol of turning

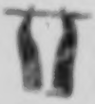

Fig. 156.
Mutilation of a Front Tooth.
The shaded part is chipped off.

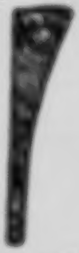

Fig. 157
Chisel used on Front Teeth.

away from the Evil One, of destroying any similarity to him. On
the other hand, it simultaneously points to an increased similarity
to the Good, that is, the sun (or God [e-sǎ-mbe], who manifests
himself in the sun), and the teeth are shaped to be like its rays.
The deformation of teeth, therefore, is not to form a real
"point," which to the contrary, would be something unpleasant
and bad (the root sǒ is in n-sǒ-ǒ l, "point"). (It may be that this
is the reason some people knock out all or some of their front
teeth.) Rather, the deformation only narrows the teeth and gives
them the shape illustrated in Figure 156. The teeth are, so to
speak, "stretched" and made to resemble a sun beam; from this
comes the expression a sǒ-m-ǎn masǒ from a sǒ-m, "to stretch"
(n-sǒ'-m-ba, "the row, the line," actually, "ray"). The widely
current expression "to shape the teeth to a point" is accurate only
if one does not take it too literally; the cutting edge is merely
narrowed, not brought to a point. The expression "filing the
305 teeth," which one also encounters frequently, is inaccurate since

304 the teeth are splintered off and not filed. In Pangwe another expression, aside from a sǐman /203/ masǒ́, is a sǎ-ó masǒ́, which is derived from a sǎ-ó, "to carve, to chip, to adorn"; sǎ,-ó IV means "carving, carving patterns," from the root sa (1).

> 1. On the other hand, to put a point on a stick (as an example, etc. is a sǒno (Fang) and a sǒǒne, a sǒ̃ne (Ntum); the root is so!

The operation is performed in the following manner. The "patient" lies down on his back and bites firmly into a wooden roll with his front teeth. The artist places a small iron chisel (sǎó e masǒ́ IV, Fig. 157) on the tooth, takes a piece of wood for a hammer, and splinters off the edges in small pieces. The pain [178] of this operation is not inconsiderable, and for that reason the old custom is being abandoned here and there. This is a development which is speeding up under European influence. /304/

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Section 8

Craftsmanship and Tools

General observations.
First Part. Bark work. (a) Raw bark. Utilization: bark for house construction, decorative barks, bark containers (their production, significance of names), coffin. (b) Bark cloth. Beaters -- Types of trees supplying bark for cloth. -- Manufacture.
Second Part. (a) Thread and sewing. Fibers of the Raphiophyllum, of the pineapple. (b) Ropes and knotting. Ropes made from pineapple and banana fibers, raffia fiber and its

004 manufacture, raffia fiber ropes, Gärtnera fiber ropes, Triumfetta fiber ropes. -- Knots. (c) Bands and braiding. General observations. 1) Pigtails made of fiber. 2) Carrying straps and plaited mats. 3) Drying boards and boxes. 4) Storage baskets. 5) Baskets (types, material, rattan palms and their importance). 6) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele. 7) Basketwork plates. 8) Belts. Baskets (materials, types of baskets, prices), knife sheaths.

Third Part. Woodworking. General observations. -- Products of woodcarving. -- Manufacture of cutlass sheaths, stools, stirring spoons, eating spoons, powder flasks. -- Other kinds of woodworking.

Fourth Part. Metalworking. (a) Iron extraction. Areas with iron, frequency. -- Smelting medicine. -- Abstention rule and medicines. -- Ironstone. -- Foundry. -- Smelting: preparation, workers and their tools, erection of the furnace, preparation of the furnace, working the bellows and the work of the medicine man. -- Pulling down the furnace. -- Distribution of pig iron. -- Yields. (b) Processing the iron. Location of the smith and the smithy and the arrangement of the workshop, medicine, tools, charcoal, the smith's work. (c) Brass founding. Source of the brass, smelting, founding and manufacture of neck rings.

000 Fifth Part. Pottery. General observations, products, price and manufacture of the pots. Decoration. Manufacture of blast pipes.

463 Crafts in our sense are nonexistent among the Pangwe. All the manual skills are only practiced on the side and are strictly secondary to the economic activities of agriculture, catching fish, and trapping. The very simple skills are familiar to and practiced by everyone. Beyond that, specialization begins, and among the Pangwe it is developed to the utmost. Indeed, this specialization goes so far that, for example, not even the carrying straps for children -- which only consist of two leather strips sewn together -- can be made by all household heads; furthermore, a person who manufactures eating spoons cannot make any other wood product, not even a stirring spoon. A stool maker knows only how to make stools, a crossbow carver can only make crossbows, one who makes men's carrying baskets (ebǎ'de) can only make men's carrying baskets. Since in one village there are often no more than one or two people who know a craft, the inhabitants of the village have to purchase the objects not manufactured by these craftsmen from all corners of the compass. It may happen that they have to go some distance or even make a journey to obtain a stool, a crossbow, or the like /205/

1. Bark work.

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314 Tree bark is used in many ways in the Pangwe household, either in raw form or made into cloth.

(a) Raw bark.

It is used for the following purposes.

1. To cover the house wall and as a door (1).

1. For house construction use is made of the bark of about 15 trees whose scientific names, insofar as I could

314 determine them, are enumerated here:
Flacourtiaceae *Homalium buchholzii* Warb. (oyǒn-e-sǎk); Sterculiaceae *Sterculia tragacantha* Lindl. (edzǒle); Borraginaceae *Cordia odorata* Gürke (ebǐ Fang, ebǐl Ntum);
Bignoniaceae *Markhamia tomentosa* K. Sch. (edzǐdzǒn);
Rhamnaceae *Maesopsis tessmannii* Engl. (nkǎnǎ' I);
Bombaceae *Ceiba pentandra* (L) Gärtn. (dūm IV);
Anonaceae *Xylopia aethiopica* (Dun.) A. Rich. (ojǎn);
Anonaceae *Cleistopholis staudtii* Engl. et Diels (avǒn, yǐmǎ III);
Anonaceae *Isoloma* spec. (ovǒk);
Sterculiaceae *Sterculia tragacantha* Lindl. (edzilǒb, edzilǒn);
Triplochitonaceae *Triplochiton tessmannii* (ajǐi).

2. Decorative barks.
3. Containers.
4. The coffin or as a lining for the body in the grave.
5. To string the sounding board of the harp (see "Musical Instruments," Section 20 /Ed., this section of Vol. II is not translated/.

314 The required pieces of bark /Fig. 157a appears here in the original text/ are obtained in the following manner. The tree is girdled at the top and bottom, and in between a zigzag line is cut with crisscross blows of the cutlass. Starting with this zigzag line, the bark mantle is easily lifted off and removed (Fig. 157a). The crisscross cuts often accidentally cross in such a way that lozenges are formed. These lozenges subsequently serve as an important ornament, to which I shall return later.

314 342 For the house walls the bark plates that have been removed are in part used without further ado. That is, they are used either completely raw or after the outermost layer has been peeled off -- the practice of the Jaunde, but the Ntum and Fang do this best with the Xylopia aethiopica (ojĭh). /206/ Otherwise, the Ntum and Fang prefer to dry the bark pieces for five or more days over the fire in the meeting house or in the sun, for otherwise they quickly warp or develop cracks and holes.

Ornamental barks are treated in the same way and dried especially well because, unlike the house walls, they are not held by boards on both sides. To obtain ornamental bark, all the trees mentioned in the footnote on page 214 can be used, but Cordia odorata Gürke (elĕ, Fang) and Triplochiton tessmannii (aĭ) are especially suitable since various layers can be drawn off from their bark after drying, each one of which can be used by itself. This means a saving of labor which is as valuable to the Negro as it is to us. 314 342 431 The bark is made into rectangular plates painted with figures and scenic representations or patterned in colorful rectangular, triangular, or arc-shaped fields. The frames of the rectangular fields consist mostly of raffia leafstalk strips running diagonally; those of the arc-shaped fields consist of

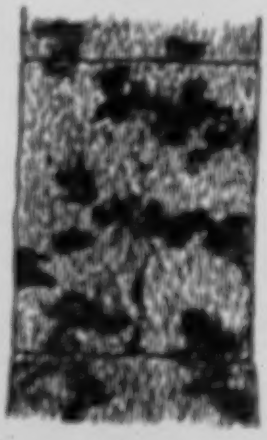

Fig. 157a. Removal of Tree Bark for House Construction.

314 strips of rattan palm. Both frames are drawn through holes made
342 with an awl (nsŏh), Figure 174, c; they are sewn on with fine
291 palm bands. In the next section I shall speak of the patterns.

314 To obtain bark for houses and decoration a whole number of
415 trees are available, as we have seen. On the other hand, containers
322 -- at least in the southern region -- are made from the bark of only a single tree, a Tiliacea (ekŏk). They are carefully worked, and when new they look very nice because of their even yellow-gray color which later, as a result of the smoke in the hut and through age, becomes dark brown to black. They are manufactured in the following manner. The requisite piece of bark is cut off to the desired size, and its outermost layer is scorched over the fire so that it can be scraped off with a knife. It is then bent into the shape of a cylinder so that the edges lie over one another in a narrow strip. The edges are clamped between the halves of a stick that has been split down the middle, the halves being pressed together again at the top and bottom by means of a string. At this point the edges are sewn one on top of the other with two seams. The stitching is done with palm bands, for which holes are made with an awl. The projecting edge is cut off. The lid consists of a hoop similarly constructed from the same bark and a plate made of the wood of the umbrella tree, which is also used for the bottom of the vessel.

415 Bark containers of all sizes are manufactured, from the most
761 charming little boxes to the gigantic barrel. In one respect, however, they are identical, that is, only important things are kept in them, such as the poisoned arrows for the crossbow, skulls of ancestors, and, above all, medicines, in short, all things /201/ connected with death; hence they are called nsŏk I (1), since

1. In addition, we find nkŏk I from which is derived the name of the tree, ekŏk.

n-sŏ-k -- derived from n-so-ak -- contains the root sŏ which designates death in the religious sense. Thus, one puts something associated with death (sŏ) in the bark container (action is involved

415 761 since they first sought a container, e.g., for the skull of the dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (n-so-n), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, n sɔ̃n, was named; hence, the passive suffix n).

(b) Bark cloth.

287 412 [illegible] [illegible] Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig. 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an elephant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvu IV), or the wood of the Leguminosa Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzitsa) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

287 [illegible] 314 The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees (etɔ̃b = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/

2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. (embiɔ̃h);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adzɔ̃b-etɔ̃b);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akɔ̃-etɔ̃b);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (etɔ̃tɔ̃, root tɔ̃b reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb. (etɔ̃b, etɔ̃b-o-ɲɔ̃b, etɔ̃, akɔ̃m);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asɔ̃mentɔ̃me Fang, asɔ̃mentɔ̃me Ntum);

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and furthermore the varieties the Pangwe call abă̱ń, andŭ̇m, undúm, and ngus.

/Fig. 159 appears here in the original text./ The most widespread varieties are Ficus globicarpa, stellulata, preussii and laurentii, barteri, abă̱ń, and andŭm. The best cloth -- it is almost pure white -- is provided by Ficus globicarpa Warb. [385] (embiŏ̆'n) which in former times was planted near the villages. This tree is preferred by the women, who "attach more importance to clothing" than men.

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Whenever possible, smooth young tree trunks, no more than eight to ten centimeters thick, are chosen. A piece is cut out of the trunk and left lying in the open for half a day or a whole day. Then it is scorched evenly over a small fire, whereupon the outer bark is removed by scraping until the bast layer is completely exposed. Then this layer is cut up lengthwise, loosened by tapping it with the beater, and taken off with the fingers or by means of a stick pushed under it. The bast layer thus taken off is then pounded on some kind of support, for instance, on a tree trunk or a wooden drum. The pounding is

[412]

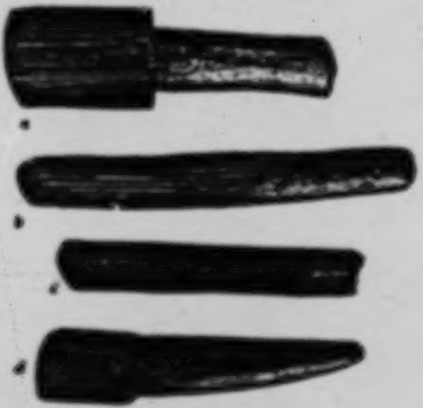

Fig. 158. Beaters for Bark Cloth.
(a) of wood, (b) and (c) of elephant's rib,
(d) from an elephant's tooth.

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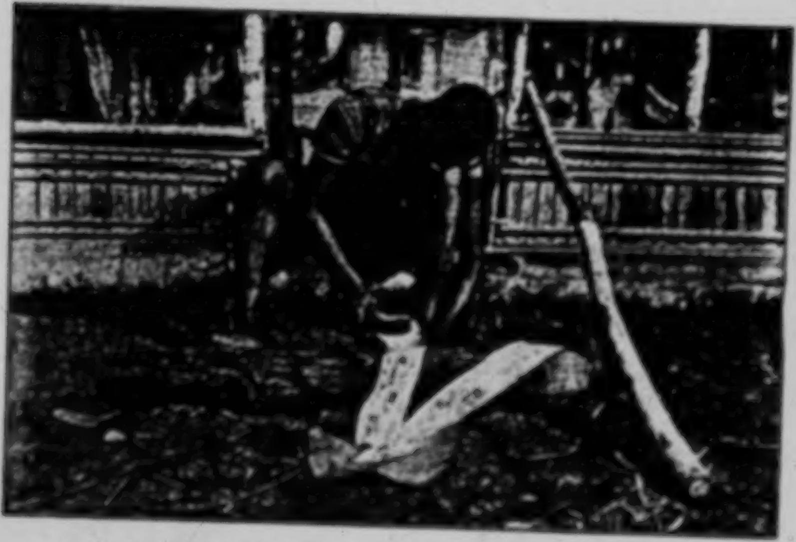

Fig. 159. Manufacture of Bark Cloth by Beating the Bast Layer of a Ficus Trunk, Uelleburg, Spanish Guinea.

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done along the entire length from left to right, and the beater must not be turned (that is, the direction of the grooves) Figure 159. Then the material is folded, beaten on the opposite side, folded once more and tapped, and finally, folded diagonally, it is worked in the same manner. Through this treatment, the piece has been made about twice as long, while in breadth it has remained unchanged. At this point it is unfolded, drawn through water a few times, and then pressed out. /209/ Materials prepared from the varieties Ficus bubu, andum, and undum need not be washed.

The individual pieces of material manufactured in the manner described are narrow. Hence, several of them must be sewn together along their long edges if one wants to make a loincloth, for instance. For men this requires six pieces; for boys four.

2. Fiber work.

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With few exceptions, fiber work is one of the occupations carried out by men. Indeed, it is one of their most frequent and

462 favorite activities. This explains their skill in sewing, patching,
463 and so forth, which the European discovers to his joy in his Black servants.

(a) Thread and sewing.

223 The simplest material for fiber work is thread (*kifs* IV, *ndé's*,
224 IV) from the climbing Aracea *Rhectophyllum* *mirabile* N.E. Brown (*kifs* IV, *ndé's* IV). The threads are obtained by cutting off the aerial roots and drawing out the fiber bundles which are extremely durable and frequently quite long. /Fig. 160 appears here in the original text./ They are used for sewing, for children's fishing rods (*ngăk*), and, secondarily, as binding material for combs made of strips of raffia leafstalks and neck bands made of bands of rattan palm (or Marantacea strips).

Fig. 160. *Bobbin with String.*

The raw leaf fibers of the pineapple are also used to sew pieces of bark cloth together, etc.

(b) Ropes and knotting.

223 Plant fibers are used more frequently in the form of strings (Fig. 160) than as thread. Just like the shoemaker's thread in Europe, the strings are twisted together by rolling them with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh. The plants used for this purpose are pineapple, plantain, raffia, Guttneza, and Triumfetta.

From the pineapple, the fiber bundles of the leaves are used; its strings are quite durable -- but not in water, and therefore fishing lines cannot be made from them -- and fairly fine, so they are especially suitable as strings for beads. A charming effect is created by the shoulder bags tied with them (*nsŏ̆m* I), into which are put all kinds of little personal belongings, medicines, and so forth. These bags are taken along on journeys, chiefly by men.

Fig. 161. Preparation of Bast from a Young Raffia Palm Leaf, Nkolentangan, Spanish Guinea.

Very attractive white fibers ([illegible]) are obtained from plantain trees by cutting down the trunk, removing the leaves and outer sheaths, and /210/ /Fig. 161 appears here in the original text/ drawing the fiber bundles out of the inner leaf sheaths. The fibers are braided into strings which are thin but not very durable and hence little used.

The bast of the leaves from the raffia palm is worked into ropes (Fig. 161). A very young, still closed leaf (because of its pointed shape, the natives use [illegible], "horn," in its name, [illegible] ndenga, that is, a young, horn-like raffia leaf) is cut off and thrown on the ground so that the pinnae are loosened and can easily be torn off. The folded laminae of the pinnae are yellowish, with green only at the bent edges which in the case of a closed leaf are the only part visible from the outside. The latter are not used and are torn off. Then a lamina is pulled off from the top to just above the bottom; at this point it is bent inwards, turned up, and while the fold is held in place, it is torn away underneath. Now its lower end is folded against the vein of the leaf so that the bast layer -- which is the only usable part and which grows

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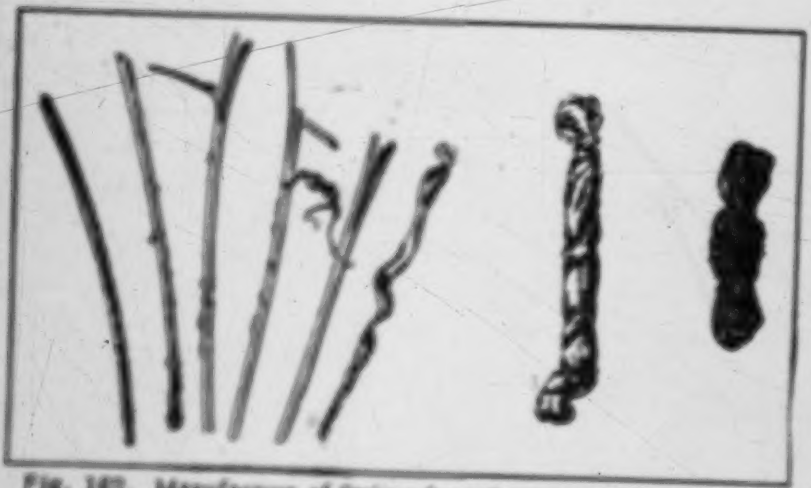

Fig. 162. Manufacture of Strings from Gaertnera paniculata.

together with the epidermis -- of the upper surface is loosened from the mesophyll; then the lamina is pulled off. The bast is left to dry, and after it has been hastily twisted or turned into regular strings, it is used for various purposes (for sewing bark cloth, stringing pearls, and so forth).

The most durable ropes (Fig. 162) are made from the bast of the Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata Benth. ([illegible]) Fang, [illegible] Ntum, [illegible] Ntum, Bulu. The shoots /231/ /Fig. 162 appears here in the original text/ of this tree are cut off, and their bark is shaved off by means of a strip of raffia stalk ([illegible]). Then a section at one end is quartered lengthwise, and the shoots are dried for a day. The upper four tips are then bent, which releases the bast layer from the wood, and it is now pulled off in four strips. The layer consists of a fine soft web of fibers which can be processed without further ado. The product is a brownish-colored rope which because of its strength is used for angling lines, game and fish nets, crossbow strings, and stringing decorative cowrie shells. [[illegible]]

Triumfetta cordifolia Guill. et Perr. (var. tomentosa.), [illegible], is a shrub-like growth which sometimes grows taller than a man. It is readily recognizable by its dark-green leaves, which have a shimmering silvery-white and softly haired underside, and its yellowish blossom panicles. Although not equally common everywhere, it occurs in open [[illegible]]

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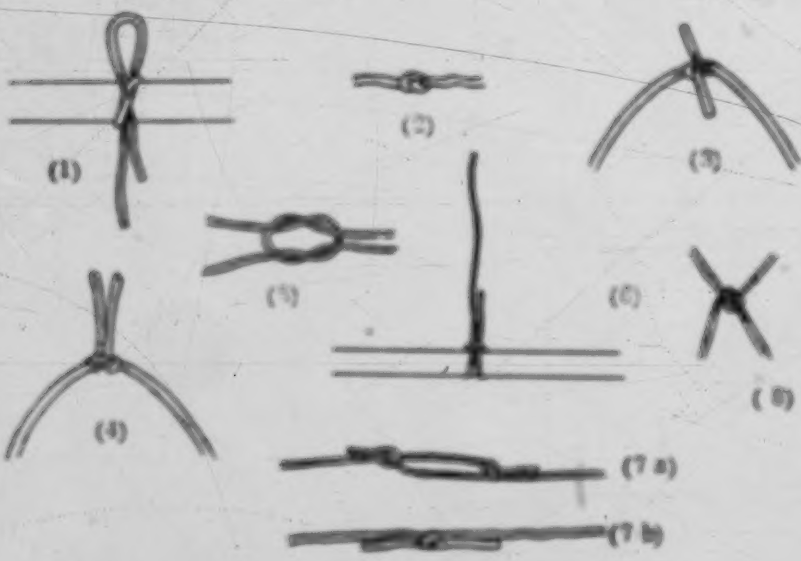

Fig. 163. Pangwe Knots.

283 places in the vicinity of villages and in areas where formerly there were villages. The ready accessibility of this plant has the consequence that its bast is used more frequently for ropes than that of other plants. In order to obtain the bast, the stalk is cut off at the height of one meter, and four incisions are made in it at the upper end. The outer layers are pulled off the wood, and only then is the bark separated from the bast layer. Finally, the bast layer is relieved of its cells by being pulled under the edge of a knife firmly pressed against it (in so doing the Negro sits on the ground and uses one heel as a support). The bast obtained in this way is dried and worked into ropes which are used in the same manner as the *Gaertnera* ropes. /212/

284 /Fig. 163 appears here in the original text./ As a note in conjunction with Figure 163, we shall list the names and uses of the knots found in the Pangwe region.

Drawing 1: solofumo, "contracted"; sofumo from a bulfo = to dissolve, fim = into nothing. Since pulling at the long end the knot is immediately untied, it is used in the

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house to hang up things that one frequently needs, as well as for neck bands.

Drawing 2: añin e [illegible] from añin = knot, [illegible] = firm, strong. The knot is attached -- as among us -- to the end of a thread to prevent it from pulling out (as, for example, in baskets) or to prevent beads from sliding off a string.

Drawing 3: añin e mbiañ from mbiañ = holding rope, used for climbing trees, for tying together two ropes, especially for the holding ropes.

Drawing 4: añin e nòn (nòn = firm, strong?), used in the same way as the previous one, as well as for neck and forehead bands that are to be used for a longer period of time.

Drawing 5: dĩs(s)-avũt; dĩs = eye, avũt = fixed net. These knots are used for fixed nets and hammocks. Drawing 5 shows the knot loosely tied.

Drawing 6: añin e nkpwɛ́p (nkpwɛ́p = tree draw trap for birds), used for bird traps, fish weirs, and probably also for other purposes.

Drawing 7: nla añin = correct, true knot. Drawing 7a, loosely tied; Drawing 7b, drawn tight.

Drawing 8: mvikulu (mvin = back, kũ(l) = turtle; thus, turtle's back), used only to tie net meshes. /213/

(c) Bands and braids.

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In contrast to ropemaking which combines twined plant fibers into strings, braiding combines strips of fibers lying next to each other, which I call bands. They come arranged this way in nature, in leaves, bark, bast, or wood, which are cut into strips. /Fig. 164 appears here in the original text./

(1) Pigtails of bast.

One takes two bast strips, folds one double and places the second between the folds so that the upper half remains outside and can later serve as a fastening. This provides three braiding

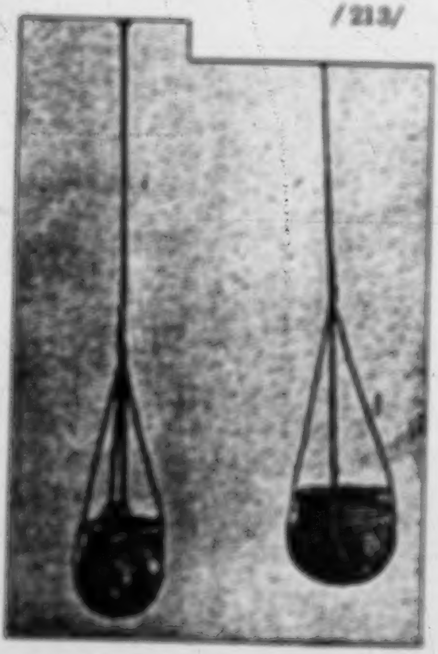

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Fig. 164. Mwele Device for Hanging Cooking Pots.

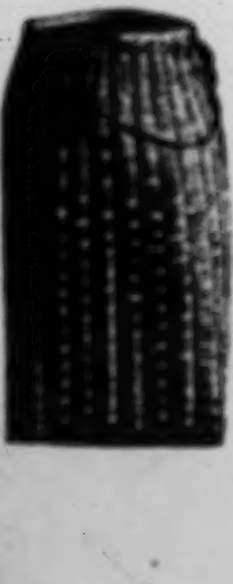

Fig. 165. Storage for Groundnuts.

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283 elements of the same kind, and these are braided together into a pigtail (helmet caps and helmet hairdos; see also device of the Mwele for hanging pots, Fig. 164). /Fig. 165 appears here in the original text./

(2) Carrying bands and braided mats.

[illegible] The carrying bands are braided from Triumfetta bast strips (two under, two over). The braided mats are made from leaf strips of the screw pine Pandanus (awŭ'be, kĭbuga; contracted form, akŏ'a) which intertwine like a chessboard. Mats are found only in the
[285
[illegible]] southern border region and are probably imported. There is a boat-like satchel for the novices of the Jaunde moon cult (see Section 11 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/), which is braided like the mats and made of the same material.

(3) Drying boards and boxes.

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416 The floors of the drying boards are made by braiding raffia stalk strips (four under, three over). The bottoms and parts of the side walls of the boxes are made from braided palm bands (three under, three over). /214/

(4) Storage baskets.

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415 The storage basket (angŏn Jaunde, angunda Mwele) is a transitional form between the box and the basket insofar as its basic material is raffia pith boards (Fig. 163) placed next to each other and held together by stalk strips of Sarcophrynium tied around them. The storage baskets are used in the house for storing foodstuffs, such as groundnuts, ears of corn, and so forth.

(5) Baskets.

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415 Basketwork is done either with one material or with a combination of two different materials. The former is the case with the following.

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[863]
[824]

1. Women's hanging baskets (nkún I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (stalk, ndḗn, ndḗnăn IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text./

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2. Carrying baskets (nkŏẽ' I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

[830]

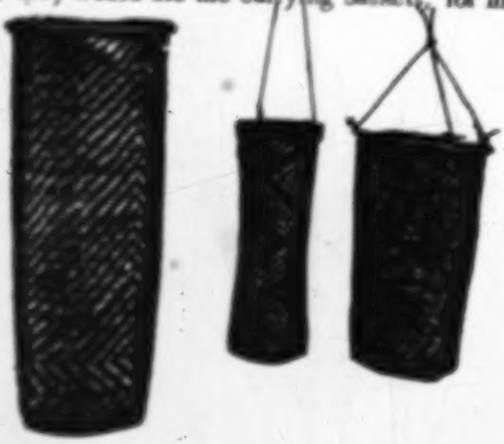

Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

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3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekǘt, ekǘt-aṅǘi' = oil press baskets, ekǘt-elẽ = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (aṅǘi') of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (elẽ) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkine) (1).

[824]

[913]

1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus). Figure 167.

285 The second class of baskets displays a variety of braiding elements: one that is flexible and active (braiding strips) (2), forms the bottom of the basket, and, ascending upward, is tied around the second, stiffer, passive one (braiding strand). /215/ Placed in the form of a spiral, this second element forms the wall of the basket. The sources of the braiding elements are as follows.

285
824 The active elements are taken from *Sarcophrynium* stalk strips, *Pandanus* leaves, or -- this is the predominant source -- the outermost wood layer of the rattan palms. The term for these current today is the collective name *nlŏn* I, a word derived from the root *a lŏn* "to braid, to twine" (compare *a lŏn ndā*, "to weave a house together, to build"; *a lŏn nkŏē*, "to weave baskets"), and used at the same time for the "bush rope" obtained from the rattan palms. Formerly, *nlŏn* designated only the *Eremospatha macrocarpa* M. et W., which occurs only in the coastal strip west of 11 degrees longitude and in the north or northeast of the Pangwe region. Later, when the Pangwe came south, the term was transferred to the two rattan palms occurring there which are used for the same purpose, namely, *Eremospatha tessmannii* Becc. (*ongām*) and especially *Oncocalamus mannii* Wendl. (*ebŏ'ŏgŏ* Fang, *ebŏdŏk* Ntum; young, *akŏlŏn*), Plate 16, Drawing 1, which is important there (1).

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[113] 2. See the discussion in J. Lehmann, *Systematik und geographische Verbreitung der Geflechtsarten* /*System and Geographic Distribution of Types of Braiding*/, Leipzig, 1907.

342
824 1. The rattan palms mentioned, aside from being used in weaving, are also used in the following ways.
1. In house construction: as rough bands, to tie together the framework of the house; as finer bands, to tie together the lathes of the side walls and the raffia leafstalks of which the sleeping

342 benches are made; and -- in the form
824 of very fine bands -- to tie roof mats
together.

824 2. In bridge construction, as railing
ropes.

3. To wind around worn or bad wooden
handles (cutlass and knives) and handles
of fly swatters and brooms.

4. As a band, for example, to hold together damaged rifle butts and wooden
plates, to tie down the bark stretched
over the sounding board of the harp, and
so forth.

5. As the main strand for the woman's
back apron made of bast; the bast bundles
are fastened to it.

6. As string for the musical bow (ekĕm).

7. As bird snares.

8. In making bark containers (see above).

9. As decorative strips for arm and neck
bands (ekŏr).

10. As a stamp to make a pattern on pottery.

285 824 The passive element mainly comes from the rattan palm Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (akŏne, more rarely ekŏ), Plate 16, Drawing 2, which differs from the Oncocalamus mannii in having large spikes on the upper side of the main leaf vein and finer spikes on the center vein and along the sides of the pinnae, a terminal inflorescence, and differently colored fruit (2). As

2. Aside from weaving, this is used in the
following ways.

1. Decorative strips for arm and neck bands
(ekŏr).

2. Walking sticks.

3. Sugar press.

4. Tension ropes for drumheads.

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5. Bands, a substitute for bush rope.
6. Scraping sticks for cassava.

The related Ancistrophyllum opacum M. et W. (ngbwĕ't) supplies tension ropes for drumheads, net hoops, and snares.

/216/ a substitute, Calamus deerratus Mann et Wendl. (edŭĭá) (1).

1. This is also used for flutes (ndŭiá I) and sticks for scraping cassava (akă-edŭiá).

is used for some kinds of baskets (women's large carrying baskets and men's small carrying baskets).

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The following kinds of baskets are made with various types of weaving.

[56]

1. Covered basket of the Jaunde (elōn) made chiefly by women. Braiding strand of palm band, braiding strips of Pandanus leaf strips, braided like a checkerboard (one over, one under).

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172
[57]

2. Large carrying baskets for permanent use (nkŭ'ă' I, nkŭ' I Fang), in which the women /Fig. 167 appears here in the original text/ carry home wood and produce. Braiding strand of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), more rarely of Calamus deerratus, braiding strips of Oncocalamus (nlŏn).

3. Small carrying baskets (nkŭ'ndză', "small carrying basket," and engă'ne). Figure 168, made of the same material as the previous ones, only smaller, frequently with a more finely braided edge whose active part may consist not only of bands but also of strings. Usually, moreover, the main braiding strand is replaced for a short distance in the middle of the basket by a blackened one, called ekāba nkit (b). These baskets are considered especially elegant; the woman takes them with her on journeys and packs food in them. In the house, raffia aprons and other objects are kept in them, and in the fields they are used to hold groundnuts and other things. /Fig. 168 appears here in the original text./

4. Men's carrying baskets (ebă'da), Figure 169. In the case of these baskets, the braiding strand is made either of Calamus or

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/216/

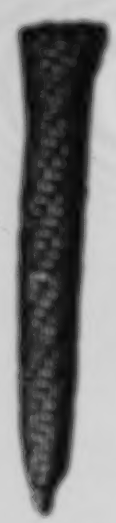

Fig. 167. Knife Sheath.

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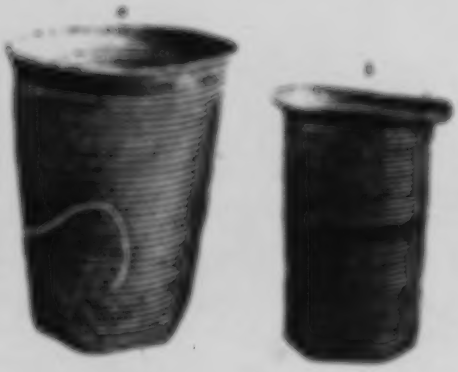

Fig. 168. Small Carrying Baskets.

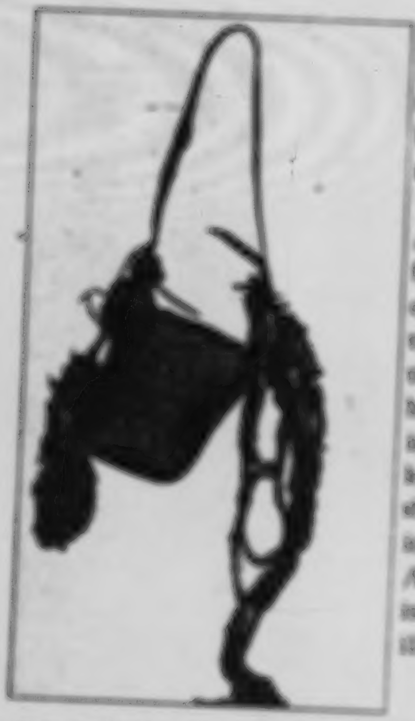

Fig. 169. Men's Small Basket with Decorations of Hide and Strings of Beads.

Ancistrophyllum. In the latter case, I found them strengthened from the outside by little sticks of the same material braided in diagonally. 285 965 972

5. Rattle baskets (ngir). /Sic?/ These appear in two forms: the first and larger one consists of the same material as the carrying basket; the second and smaller one has the same reinforcing sticks in its wall as the previous baskets and a piece of calabash shell for the bottom (concerning their use, see Section 20 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/ and the illustration there). 285 915

(8) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele (ekkiz).

For these (Fig. 170), there are likewise active braiding strips and one passive /Fig. 169 appears here in the original text/ braiding strand wound in a spiral, as in the true baskets of the second series. In contrast to the latter, however, the spiral begins in the middle of the bottom and thus forms the bottom and the wall, and it is held together by braiding strips woven in at right angles. These bowls, which perhaps are the result of northern influence (Hausa /Hausa/?), are used by the Mwele to store maize meal and as plates for finer foods. [77 251]

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(7) Basketwork plates (ăĭăd; plural bĭăd).

Here (Fig. 171) we have, in place of a braiding strand that runs in a spiral, numerous braiding strands made of strips of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkăne) or of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Ridlk. (nkĕmeshkĕme Fang), which form the quadrangular bottom surface and the basic material of the edge (or, as one might prefer to say, of the wall). In order to make the edge tight and to hold it together, a braiding strip is woven into it, this being a band from the stalks of the Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nkĕb), the Orchidacea Myrmacidium productum Kranzl. (nkĕ-o-jŏb (1), anlĕme), the Apocynacea Motandra spec. (nkĕ-e-si) (1), or from a raffia pith strip (nkĕ-ăbŏk). The position

1. nkĕ from the root kĕ = band, rope; o jŏb = above, because the orchid is a parasitic plant growing on trees; o si, = below, because the Apocynacea grows on the ground.

of the braiding elements with respect to each other is thus precisely the reverse of that in the true baskets of the second series. /218/

/Fig. 170 appears here in the original text./

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They are manufactured in the following manner. Four strips are placed close to each other lengthwise on the ground and held down with one foot; at some distance from these and parallel to them four more strips are laid down, and so on ten times, so that in all there are forty strips. These are diagonally interwoven with 36 strips likewise arranged in fours, so that each of these diagonal strips always runs alternately over and under three of the longitudinal strips, but so that there are different longitudinal strips at each diagonal plait, for instance:

Diagonal strip 1 lies under longitudinal strips 2-4, over 5-7, under 8-10, and so forth;
Diagonal strip 2 lies under longitudinal strips 3-5, over 6-8, under 9-11, and so forth.

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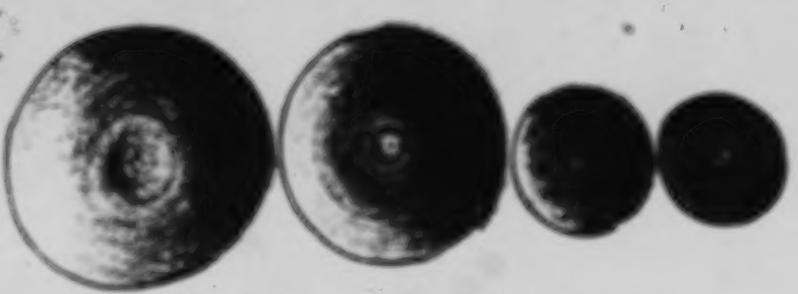

Fig. 170. Basketwork Bowls of the Mwele.

When all the strips have been woven, they are pushed tightly against each other. In this way, a firm quadrangular surface is created, which is held together by one or two bands tied over it in a cross, and the ends of the strips that have not yet been woven protrude from the sides of this surface. These become the braiding strands of the edge of the plate by being bent upward to a greater or lesser degree -- depending on whether the plate is to be deep or shallow -- and interwoven in a spiral form with a braiding strip that always skips one to three of them. /Fig. 171 appears here in the original text./ /219/ In the process, patterns are created through variations in the weaving. Finally, the braiding strip is pulled tight. Gaps at the corners are filled in with independent, short braiding strands that have been bent double. The edge is closed off at the top with a hoop of Ancistrophyllum (okâne). The braiding

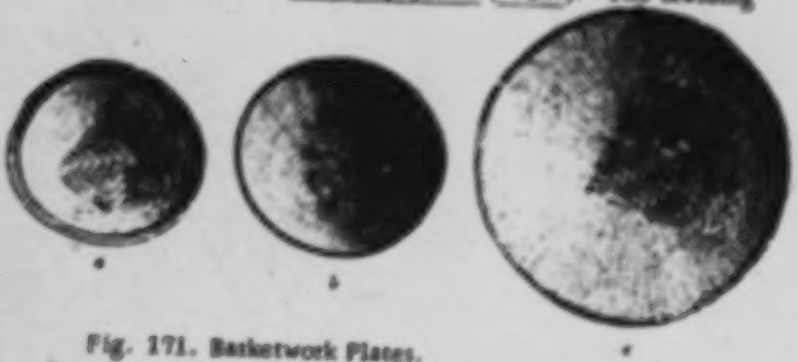

Fig. 171. Basketwork Plates.

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415 strands are placed like hoops around its outside edge, and they are fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called tè ēli Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones oyèh, the ordinary large ones dìàd, nlè dìàd = real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 137.

(f) Belts (bab IV).

283 These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkàne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

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512 Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the Pangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Ngo).

322 The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

322 6. House doors
7. Dugouts
8. Oar blade
9. Troughs
10. Pestles
11. Rubbing board for
Irvingia kernels
12. Stirring spoons
13. Eating spoons
14. Wooden plates
15. Pots for oil
16. Flasks for powder
17. Bowls for red wood
18. Chiefs' sticks
19. Walking sticks
20. Rifle stands
21. Bark tapper /220/
22. Pipes
23. Cutlass sheaths (antiquated)
24. Bellows
25. Dog bells
26. Stools
27. Crossbows
28. Spear handles
29. Shields
30. Talking drums
31. Hide drums
32. Harps
33. Wooden musical pipes
34. Wooden flutes
35. Xylophone keys
36. Whizzers
37. Jaunde playing counters
38. Wooden Phalli
39. Stilts
40. Memory games
41. Arm rings
42. Ancestral figures
43. Masks for the moon cult

To describe in detail the manner in which all these objects are manufactured is impossible within the scope of this account. Hence, as examples, I shall merely touch on the making of cutlass sheaths, stools, and stirring and eating spoons.

323
4/2 The now obsolete cutlass sheaths -- called such by the natives; in reality, they do not encase the cutlass but only form a pouch in which it is carried -- are rectangular in shape, with concave longitudinal sides. They are made in the following manner. A longish board about one centimeter thick is cut from the wood of the umbrella tree; this board is cut up into two equal rectangles. With a red-hot cutlass the narrow sides are made smooth and the long sides are rounded inward and also made smooth. On one surface the boards are hollowed out in the form of a rectangle, and at the corners holes are drilled through them with a red-hot gun rod. Then the two boards are placed one on top of the other, with the hollowed surfaces
[53] facing each other, and tied together with bush rope. The outer surfaces frequently are decorated with simple patterns burned into them. Finally, the sheath is provided with a carrying strap of animal hide.

[illegible] [30] The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. [illegible] If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down [illegible] a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekük), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the projected stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwêk IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. [32] The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (akôk Fang, akü Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kü, "to rub"; compare a-kü-b, "grindstone."

[illegible] 531 legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

322 476 435 Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

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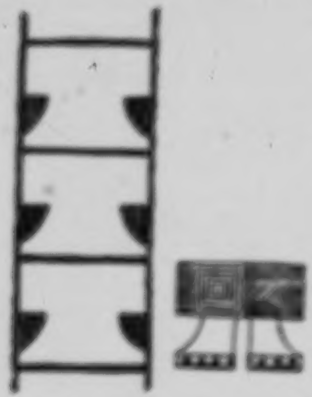

Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 476 925 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a principle clearlystated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient [41] manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 438 531 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool maker whom I had befriended what his business brought in, he first

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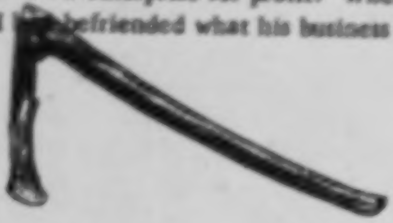

Fig. 173. Adz.

322 437 537 had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

322 415 The manufacture of stirring spoons ([illegible]) is, like their form, fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

[illegible] 1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndimobà, III); Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efião'le Ntum, dǐi III, nyǎ'le III); and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila).

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ofěn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tôk), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the [illegible] Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebǒ'm), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood [142] (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fônege-tôk), Figure 177.

323 415 Figure 177. Finally, the bowl and the handle are rubbed smooth with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata.

The powder flasks (ndík e pfidi) are very laboriously manu- [324] factured from the wood of the Alstonia congensis (ekúk) and the Kickxia elastica, Figure 178. First a massive flask is shaped and nicely smoothed on the outside; this shape is then split into two halves by a longitudinal cut. Each half is hollowed out on the inside with the adz, and the neck is cut off at the desired length. Finally, both halves are fitted together again and are held together by means of an animal's skin, usually of the monitor lizard, sewn over it.

Plates from the wood of the Alstonia congensis or Ceiba pentandra are also very difficult to make because even during the work the edges tend to split rather easily. When they do, the plates are nevertheless finished and repaired afterwards with bush rope.

323 534 324 Dog bells are made from Alstonia congensis, Alchornea caloneura, and Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (mbě IV Baum); bellows are manufactured from the Alstonia congensis and Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒ'ŋ); dugouts from Musanga, Ceiba pentandra (dum), and the Combretacea /223/ /Fig. 174 appears here in the original text/ Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akǒ'm); talking drums from Cordia odorata Gürke (ebǐ,) and Rinorea dentata; hide drums from Alstonia, Cordia, Rinorea, and Musanga.

323 411 [324] Spear handles are made from the easily split stems of an Anonacea (?), otunga, and of a Flacourtiacea, oalɔbɛ̌' (1). The

1. aa = to split, bɛ̌' = fingernails; tree which can be split with the fingernails.

wood is split /Fig. 175 appears here in the original text/ into as many parts as one wants to make spear handles. First the edges created by the splitting are roughly taken off with the cutlass, and then each individual part is worked with the drawknife until a round stick the thickness of the spear handle remains. The drawknife (awǒn), Figures 179 and 180, consists of a piece of wood (branch fork) bent in the form of a hook, whose sides have a short slit cut

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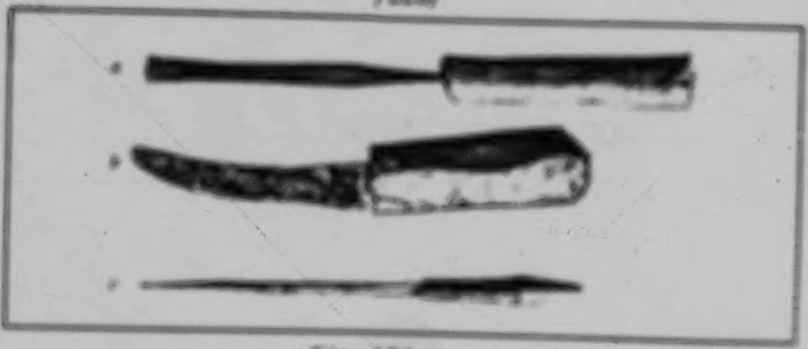

Fig. 174.
(a) Chisel, (b) Saw, and (c) Awl.

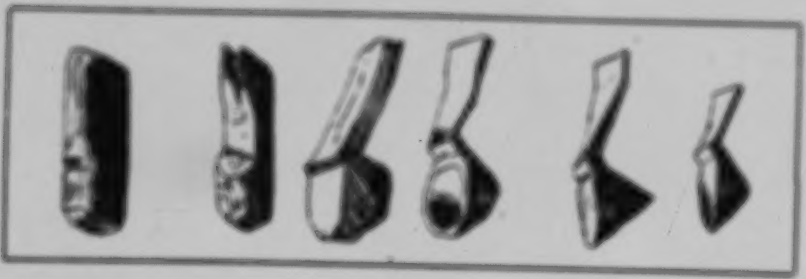

Fig. 175. Making a Ladling Spoon.

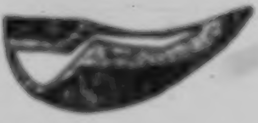

Fig. 176. Stages in Making a Ladling Spoon.
Longitudinal Section.

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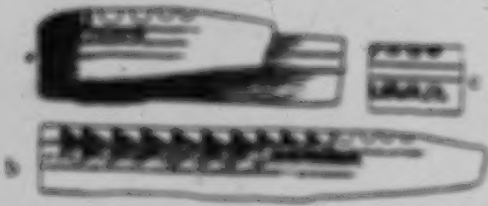

Fig. 175. Spear Scrapers.
(a) Complete; (b) pattern of the outer side unrolled; (c) part of the pattern of the inner side.

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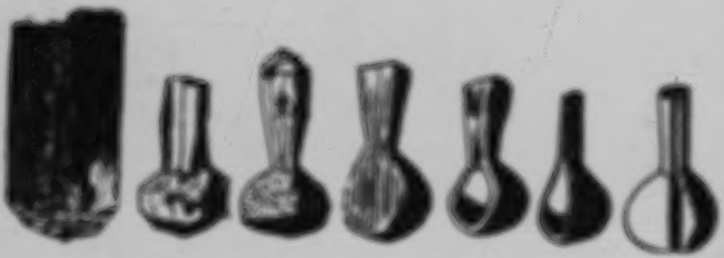

Fig. 178. Making a Powder Flask from Wood.

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one of them in the middle. Into these slits is stuck either an ordinary knife (see Fig. 179) or -- and this is most frequently the case -- a special blade /Fig. 176 appears here in the original text/ with two cutting edges of which one is like that of a knife and the other like that of a saw (Fig. 180). This very practical combination permits /224/ the craftsman to dig the longitudinal furrows in the shaft of the spear with the same tool. The blade is simply /Fig. 177 appears here in the original text/ taken out and reversed, that is, it is set in again with the toothed edge downward.

6. Metalworking.

(a) Iron extraction.

325 The extraction of iron, surely one of the most admirable achievements of the Negro, is carried on in the Pangwe region only south of the Campo by the Fang and a small number of Ntum kin groups. Traces of old smelting works, on the other hand, indicate that in former times iron extraction extended farther northward. (325) /Fig. 178 appears here in the original text/. Nowadays the Bulu buy iron from the Ntum in the south, and the Jaunde and Bene buy it from the Eton. The principal places where iron is extracted are located in the Woleu and Kje regions, as well as along the upper Uelle, but compared with the places where ironstone is found, they are few in number. Although for the most part people are familiar with the technique of iron extraction, only a few really engage in it. In part the reason for this may be the laboriousness of the enterprise, but in the main it must be sought in the superstitious notions connected with the preparation of iron. These notions require the cooperation of the medicine man, the purchase of expensive medicines, and the strict observance of the rules of 325 abstinence. The rare and difficult art of extracting it from the 789 rocks and then forging it into tools and weapons has given iron a 325 special importance, perhaps also because both techniques require fire, the sacred element which /225/ /Figs. 179 and 180 appear here in the original text/ the Pangwe worship in the Ngi cult. The smelting of ironstone is therefore carried out under the guidance and supervision of the medicine man. Exactly as in the case of the cults, it is he alone who, by means of his medicine, can transfer to others the influence over the process with which he is endowed, or, more accurately, the others can obtain from the medicine man the ability to smelt iron only by purchasing a medicine from him. This smelting medicine (bián akúŋ, abúb-akúŋ) (1) costs five sheep,

1. bián = medicine, akúŋ = iron smelting, abúb = spider, which plays a role in the acquisition medicines and is usually -- not always -- present in the smelting medicine.

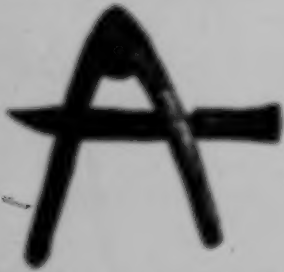

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

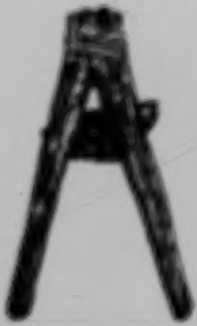

Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

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five bens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okoli) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abŏm, bŏme IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezănzi), and poison (nsŭ). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bŏme o si = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abŏm from a bŏm, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

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[435]

[824]

[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

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325 377 not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. [439] The importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. 325 783 841 The fear of bringing anything impure (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the [534] Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangĩme III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the 325 789 people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particularly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

316 325 Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (ngĩ IV) (1) and is

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of *Professor* Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

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> showed that the ore "exhibits a not inconsiderable titanium content, some sulphur, traces of phosphoric acid, a small calcium content, as well as a small magnesium content, in addition to the usual components, such as silicic acid, iron oxide, aluminum oxide, water, and small quantities of manganese."

[423] simply collected and carried off. The iron ore pits (ebê-asẹ́ī from asẹ́i, "rock containing iron") have no special significance for the Pangwe; they are common or rather ownerless property that could be claimed by anyone. The smelting of the iron ore, on the other 325 423 hand, takes place in special smelting huts which are usually the common property of several fellow villagers; they alone may produce the iron from the ironstone which they themselves have extracted from the pits. The other people in the village may not use the smelting hut and must buy iron from them. Because of the difficulties involved in the enterprise, smelting is done only at /227/ widely separated intervals of time. On each occasion the furnace is loaded rapidly as many times in succession as there are hut owners on hand. Each owner, therefore, has a claim to the iron obtained from one loading of the furnace.

325 343 The smelting hut (ndǎ-akūǎ, ndzī-akūǎ), Figures 181 and 182, is a simple lean-to, three to four meters high, whose ridge pole is supported by two beams. A pit (Fig. 182, Drawing 5, c), 78 centimeters deep and 1.86 meters in diameter, is dug into the ground in the center of the hut and the furnace is built over it. Another shaft (Drawing 5, b), about 60 centimeters deep, goes down from the floor of the pit, and it is on the bottom of this shaft that the above-mentioned pot with the smelting medicine is placed (Drawing 5, a). The medicine is covered with rotten leaf sheaths from the plantain so that the skulls will stay nice and cool, and then the entire shaft is filled with leaves.

325 372 If smelting is contemplated, all the participants, that is, the medicine man, the hut owner or owners, and the hired workers, must, as was mentioned, abstain for two months from sexual

325 intercourse. During this period, the ore is carried to the hut in
372 baskets and piled up there, and charcoal (*mië*, *mēi*) is obtained.
The charcoal must be especially "strong," and for that reason it
is obtained only from the following five trees: 1) *Pentaclethra*
[824] *macrophylla* Benth., Leguminosae (*ebā'i*); 2) *Erythrophloeum*
guineense Don., Leguminosae (*elǔn*); 3) *Cylicodiscus gabunensis*
Harms, Leguminosae (*edūm*); 4) *Eurypetalum tessmannii* Harms,
Leguminosae (*andzītsin*); 5) *Irvingia grandifolia* Engl., Simarubaceae
(*ngǔn* IV). The wood is heaped up in small piles near the village,
set on fire, and, when it is charred, extinguished while still glowing.
The water with which it is extinguished is skillfully squirted
out of the mouth like a shower.

325 In Bebai, among the Schumu family (Woddo region) where I
343 saw the smelting, a smaller hut stood next to the smelting hut
834 (Fig. 182, Drawing 2); this hut contained nothing but a sleeping
bench (*p*), a poker hook (*q*), and a number of spare blast pipes (*r*)
for the furnace. The hut owner for whom the smelting was to be
done the next day spent the last night in it in order not to succumb
to the temptation of violating the above-mentioned rule at the last
moment. This precautionary measure shows how steadfastly the
Pangwe actually observe the many commandments.

325 In the morning the workers appear with their tools, the blast
pipes (*žŏn* IV), and bellows.

The bellows without valve -- but in contrast, it does not have
wooden sticks used as handles. It is made of soft wood (see page
240); from its two bowl-shaped enlargements (Pangwe: *alŏ-nkǔm*,
"bellows ears") separate shafts lead /228/ /Fig. 181 appears here
in the original text/ into the tip (Pangwe: *ndžūi'-nkǔm*, "bellows
nose"). The bowls are covered with animal hide with the hairy side
[281] inward, or (only among the Jaunde) with leaf sheaths of the banana
tied together in a tuft. Since the hides are moved directly by hand
and not by means of sticks, only soft hides can be used, such as
those of the long-tailed monkeys, the potto, the civet cat, and
the African dwarf buck *Neotragus batesi* Winton.

The pit in the smelting hut is stuffed full to the rim with leaves of the umbrella tree, so that after the completion of the smelting process it can be cleaned of the charcoal remains without any

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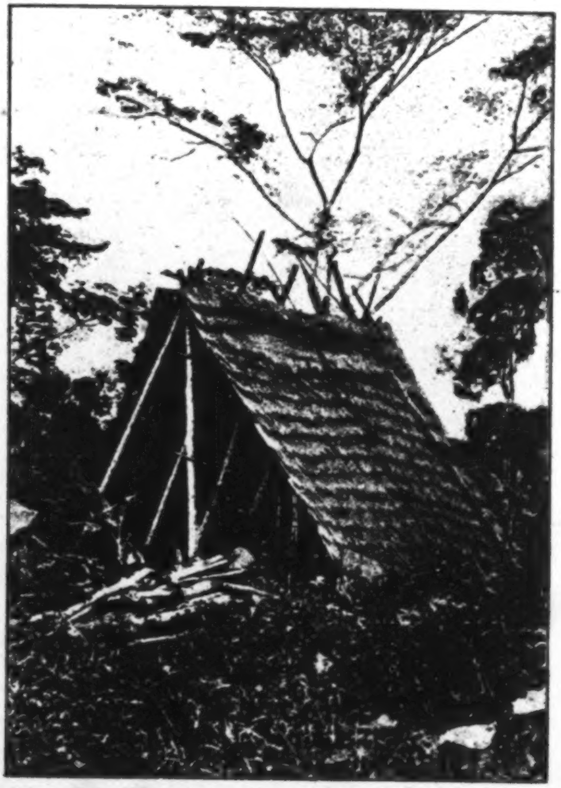

Fig. 181. Smelting Hut in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 difficulty and so that the medicine lying below will not be dirtied. Then plantain or banana stems (d) as tall as a man are planted close to each other in a circle around the pit; by means of transverse pegs made of raffia leafstalk bark they are joined to each other and with ropes and stakes are fastened to thick posts driven into the ground outside. The whole arrangement is held together above and below with ropes of Cissus runners, called ntū, and carefully plugged with smaller plantain stems (Drawing 4, f) or pieces of the same. By notching two neighboring plantain stems, holes are cut a little above the ground -- in Bebai there were 17 such holes -- for the blast pipes. Provisionally, the holes are filled up with a guide rod 1.25 meters long and corresponding in thickness to the blast pipe /229/ (ntǔ'm e zō̧ṅ, really blast-pipe

325 stick), Drawing 4, h; at the bottom this guide rod is propped up by a piece of plantain stem (Drawing 4, g), and at the top it is covered by a piece of plantain leaf sheath, called ngób "shoe" (Drawing 4, i). Later one merely needs to take out the stick and push in the blast pipe in its place. When the furnace has been prepared this far, it is loaded. A man climbs into it from the top, has charcoal handed to him, and piles a layer of it over the pit in such a way that the center remains clear. He must fill the space between the floor and the guide rods; he arranges the latter so that they radiate around a common center (Drawing 1, k), and then he adds more charcoal, at the same time covering the inner wall with leaf sheaths of the plantain so that the fire will not penetrate too rapidly to the stems and through the cracks outward (Drawing 3). The leaf sheaths lie in two layers: vertically in the outer layer (ngoo, "lattice wall," Drawing 3, l); horizontally in the inner layer (mvom, "giant snake"), Drawing 3, m. The charcoal is piled up to a height from 60 to 70 centimeters; on top of this is placed the iron ore which meanwhile had been cut up by other people and calcined for four hours on a strong fire (1). Furthermore,

1. "It yielded the following values:

Humidity (at 100 degrees centigrade)	0.51 per cent
Heat loss	2.36 per cent
Silicic acid	8.21 per cent
Titanic acid	6.97 per cent
Iron oxide	67.98 per cent
Aluminum oxide	11.82 per cent
Manganese protoxide	1.03 per cent
Calcium	traces
Magnesium	0.17 per cent
Phosphoric acid	0.05 per cent
Sulphur	0.19 per cent
Alkalies	Rest

The quite considerable titanic acid content is striking here. The smelting process is unpleasantly influenced by it, since a slag is produced that is hardly fusible. (According to Du Bois.)

1: Tessmann--250 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

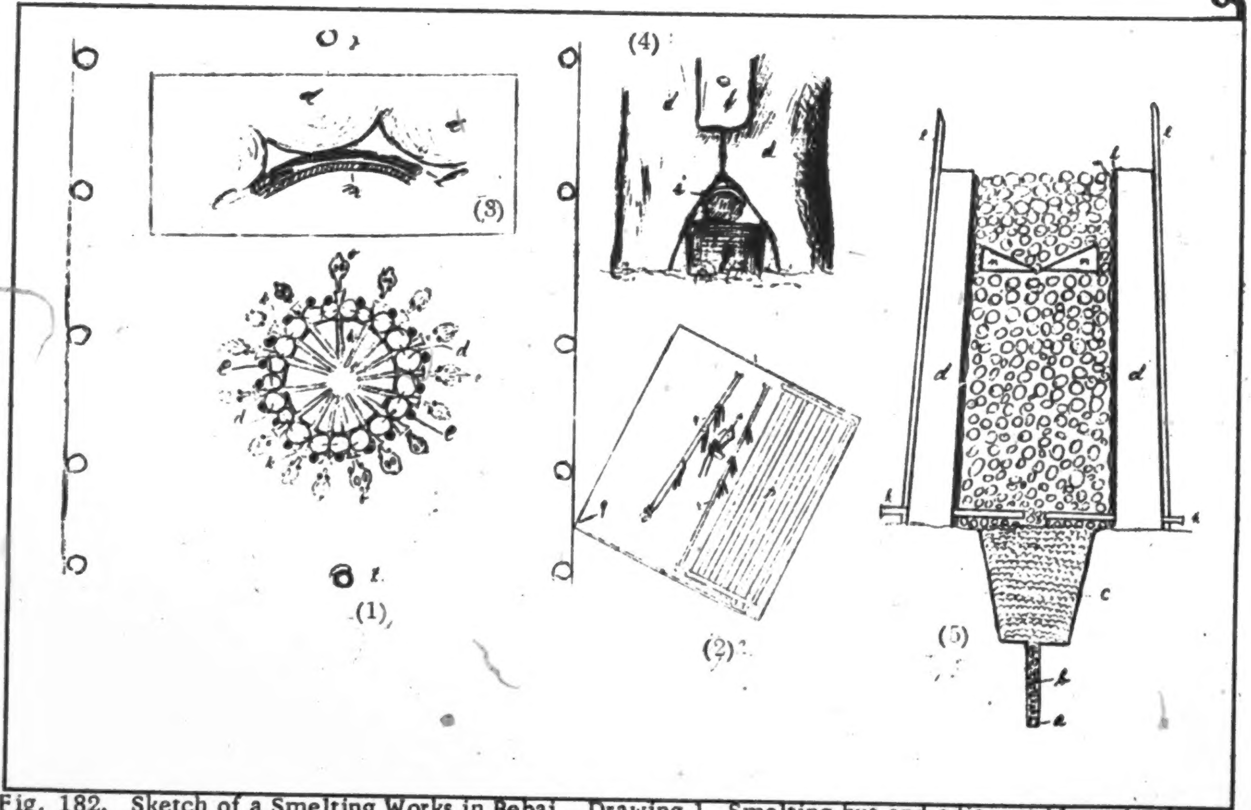

Fig. 182. Sketch of a Smelting Works in Bebai. Drawing 1. Smelting hut and adjacent blast pipe hut (Drawing 2). Drawing 3. Cross-section of part of the wall of the furnace. Drawing 4. A section of the wall where the blast-pipe stick is introduced. Drawing 5. Longitudinal cross-section of the smelting furnace.

325 the larger pieces of the iron ore are once more pounded to fragments before they are put in the furnace. The ore is piled up in such a way that, as Drawing 5 n shows, a funnel remains clear in the middle and also it does not touch the plantains but remains separated from them by a gap that is filled with charcoal. Finally, the iron ore is covered to the rim of the furnace with charcoal (2).

2. O. Zenker describes a very different smelting furnace among the Jaunde. "The smelting huts," he says, "in which the iron is also directly forged, are conspicuous by their tall pointed roofs and wooden planking, as well as by the ironstone and slag lying in front of them. In the center of these large huts are the smelting furnace and four large wooden columns. The smelting furnace is quadrangular and is constructed anew for each smelting. Its outer walls consist of pieces of plantain trunks. The furnace is about one meter high and covers a floor area of approximately one and a half square meters. On the floor, in the center, there is a hollow smeared with clay, in which the liquid iron gathers during the smelting. The entire enclosure is filled with charcoal, but the center is filled with a mixture of ironstone and charcoal. Prior to its being loaded, a funnel-shaped clay pipe is stuck into it on each side; these are used to blow air into it by means of a hand bellows of the shape that is also current in other parts of western Africa. Those who perform this work, usually half-grown persons, are seated on the columns already mentioned which are wooden and about two meters high. To protect the roof a strong wooden

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trellis is constructed over the smelting box. Smelting requires a number of hours. The very soft iron obtained is pounded to pieces and then forged."
(From Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/ by Friedrich von Danckelman, 1895, page 63. [113]

/230/ /Fig. 182 appears here in the original text./

/231/ Now the bellows workers (nšūĕ̌,-nkŭm) put their two tools, which they have brought with them, into position, and in the manner already indicated stick the blast pipe into the furnace in place of the guide rod, so that the funnel-shaped end juts outward about ten to twelve centimeters. Then they arrange the bellows (Drawing 1, o) in such a way that its mouth is from two to three centimeters from the blast pipe and clamp it between two pairs of sticks, called myā́k (see Fig. 183), which are planted in the ground. This simple arrangement has given rise to the following proverb: [539]

bokui bo vǒde akū́ǎ o mvā́k =

The Pygmies, they despaired of smelting because (of the) the holding sticks (which they did not know how to attach).
This proverb is said whenever some great enterprise fails because of a trifle.

325 461 791 Now everybody sits down on tree trunks around the furnace. A piece of red-hot charcoal is introduced into the furnace through one of the blast pipes, and then the working of the bellows begins (Fig. 184). This is done in the following manner. First one and then the other hide are alternately pulled up and down by hand, or, if one wants to work at high pressure, both hides are pulled together. This is a strenuous and monotonous job which the natives try to alleviate as much as possible by singing, which is led by the medicine man (in Plate 17, the gentleman to the right with folded arms), by shouting, laughing, talking, and telling stories. Above all, the

325 natives like to hiss rhythmically during the work; this gives them
461 greater strength, as they say. Regular whistling, however, is
791 strictly forbidden, for in the opinion of the natives it is something evil (see prefixes, page 28 /Ed., not translated/). In all this noise the medicine man takes a prominent part; every other moment he rings an iron bell, blows on an antelope horn, /232/ sings, shouts, and dashes about frantically. In short, he makes every possible effort to spur on the people, and perhaps he also means to fend off evil beings of one kind or another by his activities. Now and then he strikes between the bellows with a bundle
[824] of the Violacea *Rinorea gracilipes* Engl. or the Leguminosa *Bandeiraea tenuiflora* Benth. (both *ovŏ́ṅ e ndžīk*) (1) in order to eliminate all noxious influences through the power of the ancestors. If the zeal of the workers nevertheless flags, there follows a redoubled clamor, and after a short period of time the crew recuperates and pushes the hides with renewed vigor and almost convulsive rapidity amidst violent hissing and rhythmic rocking up and down of the upper part of the body. In the evening when they are tired, hide drums and wooden drums are called in to encourage them with a regular concert; songs are sung in which the medicine man strikes the keynote. At the end of the work, which in Bebai, for instance, lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon to 9;30 in the evening, the medicine man steps up to the furnace and by each bellows worker he makes a movement as though placing something up into the furnace and down into the funnel; his assistant walks behind him, carrying a closed medicine horn provided with a porcupine's tail. Its purpose is unknown.

1. Called *ovǒ́n e ndžīk* (*ndžīk*, "liana") because of the similarity of the leaves with those of the *Copaifera tessmannii* Harms. (*ovǒ́ṅ*),
[775] the tree in which the souls live in the intermediate realm; used when there is a shortage of *Copaifera*.

325 791 [411] The next day the furnace, which has burned out down to the pit, is torn down, and the iron slag (esŭm), which lies on the top and has not burned out, is gathered together; broken into pieces, it serves as rifle ammunition (2). Then the medicine man calls the bellows workers to the pit, and with his forging iron he knocks off the pieces of iron (obă'-ekiēi) (3) that are loosely attached to the ore bloom. The larger pieces he takes for himself, the smaller ones he divides among the men so that each receives a small powder keg of them, which is his reward for the work. The medicine man, on the other hand, keeps almost twice as much for himself. On the
325 791 422 floor of the pit is the ore bloom, a large, firm, round to oblong iron lump (mpafăn-ekiēi I) (4); it belongs to the hut owner for whom

2. According to Du Bois it is "a poorly molten, porous slag with a high iron and titanium content and also includes charcoal fragments."

3. bā = to divide, e-bă'-s = scale, ekiēi - iron.

4. From the root pfa Ntum (fa Fang), "to narrow inward and to be narrowed in," here, "to be contracted, to be agglomerated." Compare pfa-n, "narrow strait"; a pfa-n, "to narrow"; pfa-k (active), "narrowed path or place," in particular between the house and plantains in the village; a pfa-ń, "to wrap around, to put a string around." The ore bloom is, according to Du Bois, "to be regarded as a malleable wrought iron heavily mixed with charcoal fragments and with a low carbon content, which can be transformed into a usable

325 material only through forging."

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422 the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece
about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man.
The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on
the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the
splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it.
438 These pieces (epfūs-ekiēi) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting
and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

325 A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In
435 giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting
434 of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers
can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears (= 3.50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

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1. pfū-ī, "to knock off (piecemeal)."

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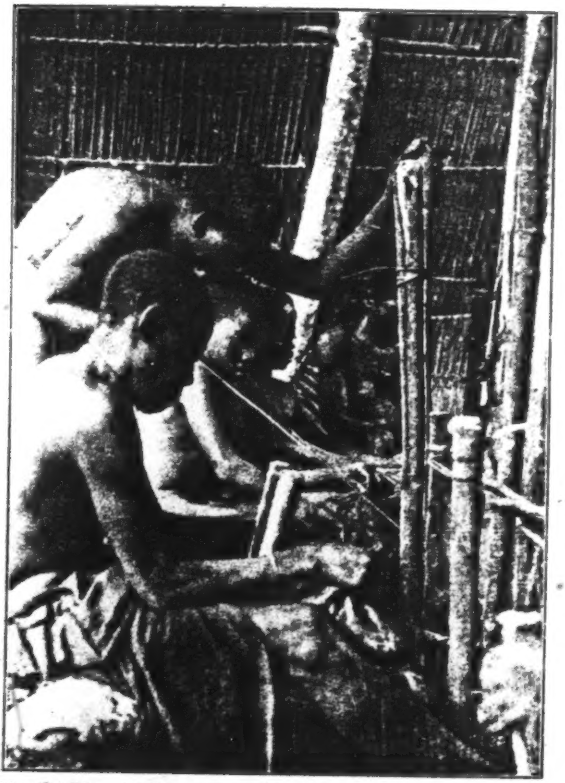

Fig. 183. Bellows workers and the medicine man's assistant who stirs the fire. Iron smelting in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 435 434 smeltings; or in German currency, which of course cannot reproduce exactly the value of the spears for the natives: (20.23 marks + 5.60 marks) 5 = 304.15 marks.

These figures fluctuate in the various regions. Nonetheless they do convey an idea of the size and distribution of the profit.

(b) Ironworking.

326 From the tales of the creation story it is evident that the Pangwe, as descendants of Mode-Sama, have known how to forge iron since ancient times, even if they were surpassed in the art by other Negro peoples, the descendants of Ngomwenio (perhaps the progenitor of the Okande?), the second son of Sama. /235/

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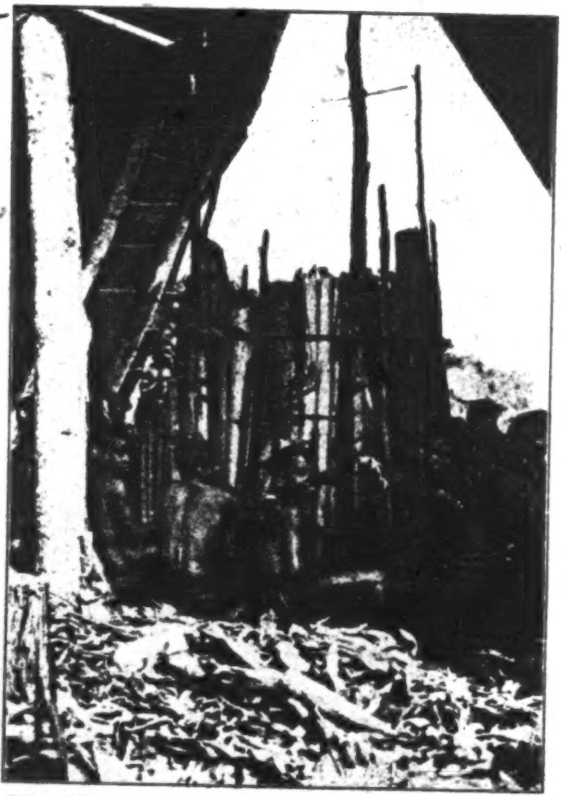

Fig. 184. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

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554 The Pangwe do not accord the smith an exceptional social position. He is neither despised, as he is by many tribes, nor does he enjoy any kind of privileges or respect beyond the regard for his abilities. His skill (akö̆'n) is recognized and placed above that of other artisans, but nothing more than that. The smith, like the wood carvers, works only now and then at his trade, and only when there is a need for him to do so; he never works to build up a stock. In other words, he does not carry on a regular trade; instead, he works by commission and is paid for the work performed, not for the finished product (everybody must bring the smith the iron needed for the desired objects). At the time I was in the country, the smith received, for example, for the manufacture of spear money, ten per cent of its value.

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Fig. 185. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

326 348 The smith (nlǖī III from a lǖī′, "to forge") most often has his workshop in the meeting house, the scene of most of the enterprises of the men. In this case a T-shaped pit is dug into the ground in the meeting house (see Fig. 27b, b) at the place where there would ordinarily be a sleeping bench. The bellows hangs above the pit and sometimes also its blast pipe; only occasionally is it hung in special huts (abā̆-lǖī′). The latter are either simple lean-tos open all around or provided with sidewalls made of logs, like the temporary meeting houses. A smith's hut of the first form is depicted in Plate 18; the groundplan of a hut of the second /236/ kind -- from the Ntum village Okõ (south of the Campo) -- is shown in Figure 186. The latter contains a tree trunk (m) and a wooden drum (k) placed along the walls and intended to serve as seats for the spectators; also it contains a stone anvil (b), and in a T-shaped pit (ejě, lǖī′) the smithy fire with the bellows (e-g). The smith (a) is always seated to the right of the fire and just in front of the bellows worker (d), so that he can conveniently reach the red-hot iron with his left hand, take it out of the pit, and work it on the anvil (b) before him.

325 789 824 Even the job of forging cannot be performed without medicines. Just as a medicine is buried under the furnace in the smelting hut, one is also buried under the anvil when the smithy is constructed, although this is not always the case. The medicine consists of cock's feathers, blossom panicles of the Labiata *Plectranthus* (*kŏ́lọ̄́t* IV Fang, *kọ̆t* IV Ntum), and leaves and stalks of the Commelinacea *Aneilema aequinoctiale* Kth. (*nlăt* I) (1). The

> *a lắ̧-t*, "unite," hence *nlăt*, the *Aneilema* (compare also *a-lặ́-t*, "the duck," because ducks live in pairs).

two plants are burdocks and are meant to symbolize the fact that the iron particles are to be joined together as firmly in the forging as the fruit of the *Plectranthus* and the stalks or leaves of the *Aneilema* cling together -- frequently one also sees the smith throwing a few *Plectranthus* fruits into the blast pipe while forging. The cock belongs to the cult of the Good, or the fire, and for that reason its feathers are the most important component of the medicine. To heighten its effectiveness, the cock is also killed, and its flesh boiled together with the leaves of the Acanthacea *Asystasia macrophylla* (T. And.) (*elọ̌bokūī*), the Connaracea *Manotes zenkeri* Gilg (*nkă-ndžīk* I), the Ebenacea *Diospyros fragrans* Gürke (*myīfị̄́n* IV Fang, *myịpfị́m* IV Ntum), and the Tiliacea *Desplatsia dewevrei* Burset (*afŏ̤nŏ̌k*). This concoction is eaten by the smith. The plants mentioned have strong and flexible stalks or twigs (*nkīb*, "rod, whip"), and the implied wish is that the iron, in particular the spear money, will be just as strong and flexible.

325 435 Lastly it should be mentioned that in a newly constructed smithy hut the first thing to be melted down must not be crude iron but only worked iron.

The smith's tools include:

325 1. Large forging iron (*ngŏ̤p[d]ŏ̤* III) of the form shown in Figure 187, Drawing 1; for cruder work it is used as a hammer, for finer work as an anvil, in which case it is pushed into the ground with its pointed end. It is worth 1,000 spears or 70 marks.

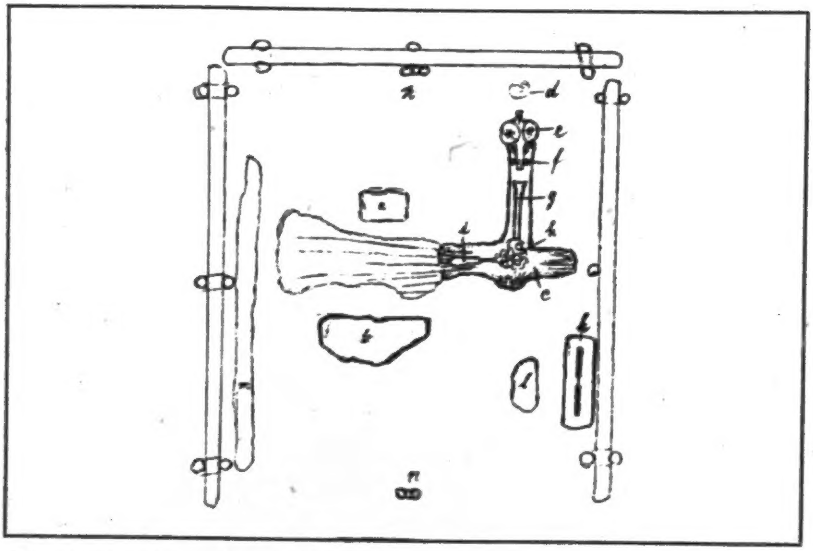

Fig. 186. Groundplan of a Smithy in the Village Okö, Ntum Region.

(a) Smith's seat; (b) smithy stone, anvil; (c) smithy pit; (d) bellows worker's seat; (e) bellows; (f) sticks to hold the bellows; (g) blast pipe; (h) charcoal; (i) handle; (k) talking drum used as seat; (l) stone, mainly for whetting the cutlass; (m) trunk, seat for spectators; (n) ridgepole.

325 2. Small forging iron (edy̌), Figure 187, Drawing 2, used for spear blades, and so forth. (Value, 50 spears or 3.50 marks.)

3. Handle ($\overset{x}{\text{abi}}$ from bǐ, "to grasp"), a simple iron rod widened toward the end to a slightly spatulate form, attached to a wooden grip. It is held against the iron glowing in the fire and welded with it so that both /237/ /Fig. 186 appears here in the original text/ can be taken out together. While the iron is being worked, the end of this handle merges with the forged object and must therefore be made anew each time after it is used, that is, it must be widened by pounding it at the end.

325 4. Chisel (zǎṅe), Figure 188, which is stuck into a slit cardamom stalk and driven in with a hammer in order to burst thin connections, to chisel off superfluous edges, to make grooves, and so forth.

5. File (ewǎs), used for smoothing.

6. Tongs (abǎs), Figure 189, Drawing 2, made from a cardamom stalk split at the end.

7. Squirter (amǒm, aměm), Figure 189, Drawing 1, made from a cardamom stalk (1) split at the end, and used -- as among us -- to moisten the coal from time to time.

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313 If anything is to be forged, the blast pipe of the bellows is placed in the center of the smithy pit, charcoal is heaped over it -- the charcoal is produced in the way described on page 247 (2) --

1. Cardamom (Aframomum) as torch, see page 42, as sacred plant of fire, see Section 11 /Ed., this section of Vol. II is not translated/.

2. From the following trees:
Leguminosae Dialium guineense Willd. (ogbǔṅ-elǐ); Leguminosae Platysepalum tessmannii Harms (ogbǔn-elǐ);
Olacaceae Aptandra zenkeri Engl. (ogbǔn-elǐ);
Ochnaceae Ouratea tessmannii Gilg (osǒ);
Euphorbiaceae Sapium oblongifolium Muell. Arg. (osǒ);
Ochnaceae Ouratea brachybotrys Gilg (osǒ, kǔṅ-osǒ, okľē);
Euphorbiaceae Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (esǔlǎ');
Guttiferae Garcinia punctata Oliv. (nśā-elǐ III);

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313

Euphorbiaceae _Uapaca_ _guineensis_
Muell. Arg. (_asă'm_);
Simarubaceae _Irvingia_ _grandifolia_ Engl.
(_ngǘn_ IV);
Sapotaceae _Mimusops_ _djave_ (Lan.)
(_adžǎ'b_);
Leguminosae _Distemonanthus_
benthamianus Baill. (_ejĕn_, _elĭ'bĕngăń_);
Burseraceae _Pachylobus_ _fraxinifolius_
Engl. (_asē̌ǎ'_);
Burseraceae _Pachylobus_ _macrophyllus_
(Oliv.) (_atŏ'm_ Fang, _andŏtŏ'm_ Ntum);
Flacourtiaceae _Petersia_ _minor_ Niedenzu
(_abiń_).

and on the charcoal, the iron pieces to be forged. Then /238/ the charcoal is set on fire with a red-hot coal thrown into the blast pipe. Thereupon the assistant sets the bellows going (see page 252). If the charcoal catches fire, the smith places the handle (Figure 186, _i_) into the side arm of the pit, heaps the charcoal (_h_) over the iron pieces, waits until the iron is red-hot, takes it out with the handle, and forges it on the anvil. Once the iron is ready in its crude form, it is knocked free from the handle with the chisel, seized with the tongs, and subjected to further working.

(c) Brass founding.

325 Brass (_ngǘs_ IV, _mvǒt_ IV) has been coming into the Pangwe region from the coast in the form of tubes and wire for a long time. Because of its softness and its brilliant color, it has almost completely replaced iron insofar as it was used for ornaments. The tubes are not altered; the wire, on the other hand, is worked into neck, arm, and finger rings, into foot covers and leg rings.

The wire is cut into small pieces about three centimeters long and placed in a potsherd or in a clay vessel specially prepared for the purpose (Fig. 190). Then it is placed on the smithy fire and

325 entirely covered with charcoal and melted with the help of the bellows. As soon as the blue flames appear, the smith removes the coals from the top of the pot, seizes the latter with his tongs, and pours the liquid metal into molds. These are halved raffia leafstalks in whose pith a suitable negative form is cut (Fig. 191). Then he cleans out the coal fragments that might have fallen into it and pours on water. After it has cooled, the brass is taken out of the mold and, heated, it is again worked, that is to say, the coarser roughness is beaten down with the large forging iron. In the case of the engraved neck rings (see Fig. 14), the two ends are now /239/ /Fig. 187 appears here in the original text/ beaten out with the tapper and rolled with light blows over the surface which is then carefully smoothed with the tapper. This is a rather laborious job, since the rod must time and time again be placed in the fire for a time. Now the ring is bent by skillfully hammering the inner surface on the edge of the anvil, and it is hammered completely together on the large forging iron placed over two props. Finally it is filed smooth, whereby the brilliant yellow brass color appears in place of the hitherto black color; then various patterns are engraved on it with the help of three different strong chisels (Fig. 192) and other tools (Fig. 193).

5. Pottery.

323 [462] Unlike the crafts mentioned so far, pottery is in the hands of the women. Only tobacco pipes and blast pipes are made by men. Pottery is not very highly developed; its forms are poor and decoration is rare. /Fig. 188 appears here in the original text./ The main products of pottery are assembled in Figure 194.

1. Water flasks (ešũgǎ);
2. Large and small cooking pots (mvě́ IV and obě́bě́);
3. Smithy funnels (žŏɲ IV);

in addition, the following are also made,

4. Tobacco pipes, and
5. Brass smelting pots.

This is the extent of the use of clay objects. /Fig. 189 appears here in the original text./ /240/

1: Tessmann--264 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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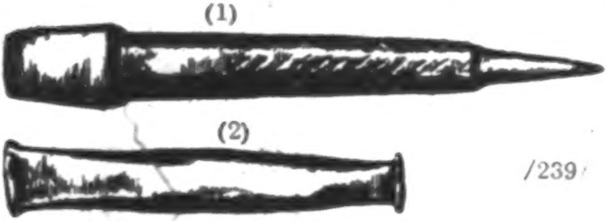

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Fig. 187. Hammer and Tapping Iron.

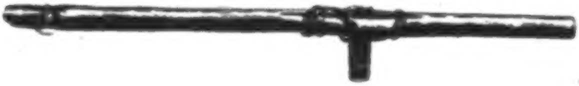

Fig. 188. Chisel for Ironworking.

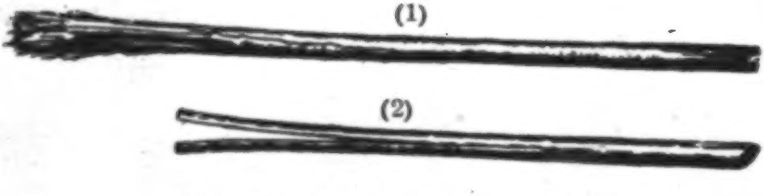

Fig. 189. Smith's Squirter and Tongs.

323 The women, of whom about a fourth (among the Jaunde about a half) understands the art of pottery, carry on their craft mostly as housework. They make the flasks and pots for their own household or for those of acquaintances and relatives who from indolence or lack of skill have not taken up pottery. In addition, they sell their products to other women who cannot or do not want to make pottery. The prices for pots fluctuate, de-
323
435 pending on the size, between two and four spears (14-28 pfennigs), among the Jaunde between five and thirty Jaunde spears (5 to 30 pfennigs); /Fig. 190 appears here in the original text/ very large Jaunde pots, unknown among the Fang, cost 40 Jaunde spears (= 40 pfennigs). The clay bottles which are limited to the Fang and are scarcely found north of the Campo cost ten spears (= 70 pfennigs). By and large, the Jaunde women are better and more industrious potters; they produce more, which, to be sure, causes the price to go down, and they make more attractive pots than the
[531] Ntum and Fang women who decorate perhaps only a third to a fourth of all their cooking pots. Water bottles are decorated only in exceptional cases. /Fig. 191 appears here in the original text. /

323 The manufacture of pots proceeds as follows. White pottery clay (ekǒn, vūɔ̌k; plural lŏ́k), either dry or mixed with water if necessary, is pounded for awhile on a piece of bark with a pestle (ntum e vūɔ̌k). Then the potter rolls the clay into sausages and places two or three of them together in her hand in snake-like coils. These form the bottom of the future pot. Then she places the whole thing /Fig. 192 appears here in the original text/ in a plate, either of basketwork or wood. Now she builds up the wall of the pot by joining the remaining sausages in a spiral fashion as she turns the plate which serves as a potter's wheel. She makes it smooth with a moist raffia stick, indents it by applying light pressure just below the edge, and smooths the indentation itself (mbě I) with a fine leaf of grass, rubs it off with a wet leaf, and takes it off with the little stick. The finished pots have to dry for five days on the pottery loft (akǎń e mvé) and are then fired. The firing is done in the village square. /241/ /Fig. 193 appears here in the original text. / Under and around the pot firewood or twigs are simply heaped up and set on fire.

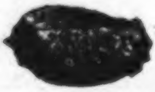

Fig. 190. Clay Vessel for Brass Founding.

Fig. 191. Form for a Brass Neck Ring in a Halved Raffia Leafstalk.

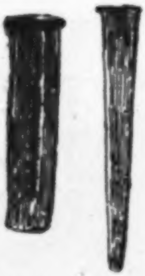

Fig. 192. Chisels for the Patterns on Brass Neck Rings.

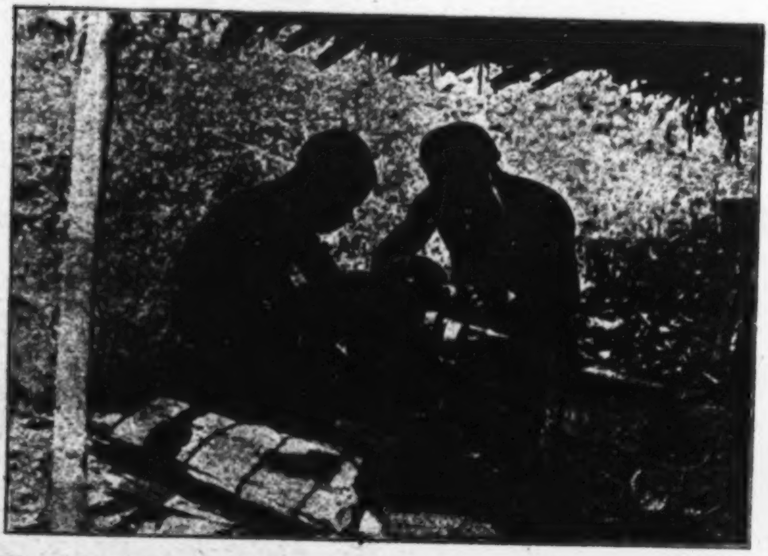

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Fig. 193. Brass Smith Decorating a Brass Neck Ring, Akonangi, South Cameroons.

While the pots are drying, the decorations are put on. The 323
pots are slightly moistened with water, and then the pattern is
scratched on with a pointed raffia leafstalk splinter. A certain
pattern, obŭgeli, is obtained by rolling a carefully braided four- [531]
edged stamp up and down (Fig. 195).

The clay blast pipe of the bellows is manufactured by the [462]
men in the following manner. The bark of a raffia leafstalk is
removed in strips down to just short of one end; the strips are
then tied together again in their natural position at the other end,
so it looks as though the bark had burst apart in the middle into so
many strips. Then the leafstalk is stuck vertically into the ground
on the end from which the strips had been completely removed and
tied together again. The clay is placed around the stick in the
form of a funnel, the upper edge being bent outward, and so the
whole thing is left to dry in the sun for three days. Then the
strings are untied, the bark strips are completely removed, being
pulled off one by one, and the blast pipe is taken down to dry for a
little while longer in the house. The blast pipes are never decorated;
only once when I /242/ /Fig. 194 appears here in the
original text/ witnessed the making of a blast pipe in Bebai, the

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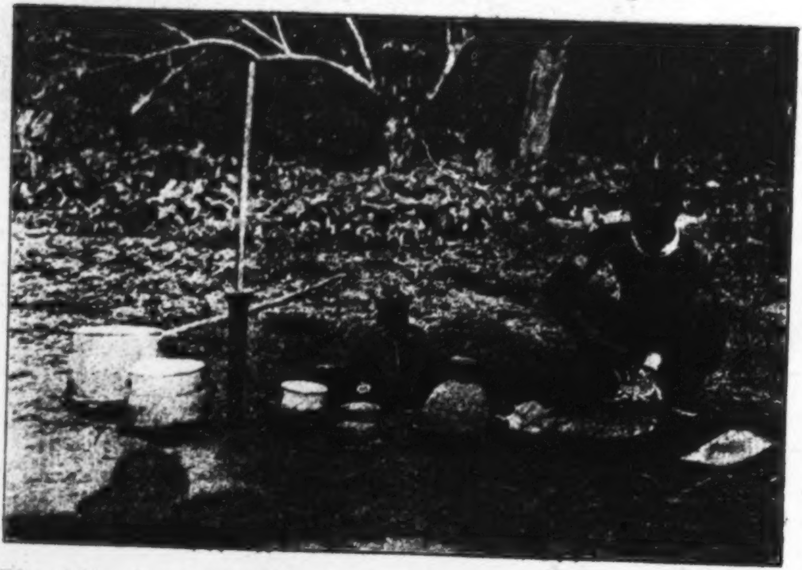

Fig. 194. Potter at Work. Left, the potter's products. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

323 artistically inclined creator could not refrain from providing his handiwork with a few incised patterns, perhaps in my honor because he assumed that I could not possibly have come on account of so "simple" a matter, but must be expecting special artistic achievements from him, so he now had to add something extra.

[531]

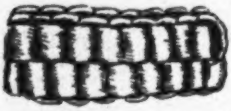

Fig. 195. Stamp for a Pattern on Pottery.

/243/ Section 9

Fine Arts

000 A. Ornamentation. Origin of the patterns. -- Basic patterns, modified patterns, composite patterns. 1. Bark patterns. General observations. -- Basic patterns: rectangle; diamond; monitor lizard; triangle; parallel lines; snake-like line; arcs; fishbone. -- Their frequency. -- Modified patterns. -- Composite patterns. -- Decorative barks in the form of masks. 2. Carving patterns. General observations. Stools: manner of decoration. -- Recurrent basic patterns. -- New basic patterns: checkerboard pattern; spear with barbs; ellipses. -- Modified patterns. -- Composite patterns. -- Drums. 3. Incised patterns. (a) Decorative scars. Basic patterns. -- Recurrent and new modified patterns. -- Composite patterns. -- (b) Tattooing. Recurrent basic patterns. -- Recurrent and new modified patterns. -- Composite patterns. -- (c) Decoration of raffia leafstalks. Execution. -- Recurrent patterns: basic patterns; modified patterns; composite patterns. -- Recent patterns. 4. Chased patterns. General observations. -- Neck rings. -- Foot covers. -- Swords. -- Battle axes. -- Note: Brass sheaths. -- Pot patterns.

B. Drawing and painting. Artists. -- Motifs: alien culture (horses and so forth). -- Other motifs. -- Obscene pictures. -- Sketches by my servant.

C. Plastic art. General observations. Wood carvings. -- Clay figures.

A. Ornamentation

531 All creations of ornamental art that we encounter among the Pangwe can be reduced to a small number of formal configurations. Directly connected with technical processes, these have arisen from them and even now yield to the same ineluctable necessity day by day. At one time or another, an esthetic impression was created by these configurations; they were grasped as independent forms and in that very moment became models which -- freed from their original, basically practical significance -- were imitated intentionally, at first in a playful manner and subsequently recreated in order to employ them as ornamental accessories. They became artistic motifs. So long as the models were taken over *unchanged* into the system of ornamentation, patterns arose that betrayed their origin at all times and at a glance. These I shall therefore designate as *basic patterns*. They have names which, with one single exception (Varanus /monitor lizard/), the people are unable to explain or to explain with certainty, that is, insofar as they do not simply designate the material. Gradually, under the influence of frequent repetitions and changing materials, the distinctness of these simple basic patterns was obscured; the elements split up, became shifted in relation to each other, were grouped into double arrangements or into new combinations. In this way, *modified patterns* arose. /244/ /Fig. 196 appears here in the original text./ The Pangwe later read into the patterns concrete things of his environment, and he named them after these things. This process seems to have occurred with the change of material, with the sole exception of the animal figures which had already been read into the pattern of the original material, that is, the material on to which the model was transferred for the first time. In this way they became permanent patterns of ornamentation. I distinguish among them two forms, homologous and nonhomologous, depending on whether they constitute a modification of the same pattern or arose from a combination of different patterns. Combinations of patterns, on the other hand, whose parts have preserved the names and meanings originally attached to them, I shall call *composite* patterns.

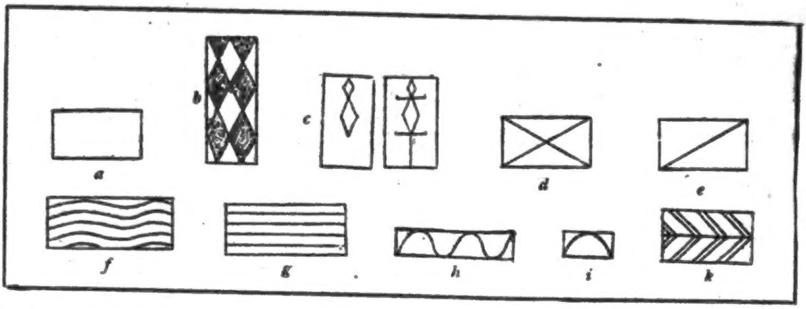

Fig. 196. Basic Patterns of the Art of Decorating Bark.

The type and development of the patterns vary with the material, which may be bark, wood, raffia stalk, clay, metal, and human skin. At the same time there seems to be a certain connection between bark and wood on the one hand and between metal and human skin (decorative scars) on the other -- a connection which finds expression in similar patterns. The detailed description of the patterns will, therefore, proceed from the point of view of the material.

1. Bark patterns.

In the Pangwe region there are peculiar bark plates with painted areas framed by raffia leafstalk strips or palm bands. The plates are attached to the outer or inner walls of meeting houses and more rarely to the outer wall of dwellings. These decorative bark pieces are widespread, but they do not occur frequently and by no means in every village for even the artistic sense for bark ornamentation is a specialty, and the artists concerned are thinly distributed over the land. Concerning the manufacture of these plates, I have already said everything necessary on page 215, and I shall only reiterate here that everywhere among the Pangwe the colors used (see pages 198-199) are red, white, and black. Only in one single case did I [386] observe a bright blue-gray, which was derived from an argillaceous earth of that color. /245/

The division into areas /Ed., in German, Felderung/ displays a series of patterns that correspond to the material used in house construction. They are:

531 Quadrangle = bark,
Triangle = raffia leafstalk strips,
Line = palm band,
Fish bone = palm leaves.

The quadrangle is to be found in three forms: as a rectangle; as a diamond; and as a monitor lizard.

The rectangle results automatically from the natural shape of the bark mantle (Figure 196, a).

The diamond arose, and it still arises daily, in the process of removing the bark from the tree, as has already been discussed in connection with bark work (page 213). I here remind the reader of the fact that in this process the tree trunk is girdled at the top and the bottom and the bark is cut through in a zigzag line which, as observation taught, facilitates the removal of the bark. From the crisscross blows of the cutlass there arises the figure of the diamond when the cuts meet, as Figure 157a shows. If they cut across each other once, this produces the beginnings of new diamonds, and these are drawn out in a playful manner. In this way groups /Fig. 197 appears here in the original text/ of diamonds placed across and next to each other are created. Later such diamonds were cut into the bark in intentional playfulness which is still very popular today, and the individual diamond areas were emphasized by removing the bark down to the wood in checkerboard fashion.

From here it was no great step to the transference of the pattern to bark plates (Fig. 196, b).

The monitor lizard motif (nkaak III) comes into being when two large diamonds are accidentally formed one on top of the other in the process of removing bark; in these one sees the head and body of the monitor lizard, Varanus niloticus. Just like the diamond, the lizard is playfully cut into the bark of trees, and then by means of simple strokes legs and a tail are added. At a later time the lizard motif was transferred to the independent decorative barks (Figs. 196 c, 197).

531
925 The similarity to this animal was noted because the monitor lizard was seen daily crawling across the bark of the trees; in doing so it displayed -- like many lizards -- approximately angular outlines.

Above all, however, the origin of the lizard pattern is to 531 be sought, I suspect, in the fact that at one time the Varanus 825 played as important a role in the religion of the Pangwe as it did among the ancient Egyptians who worshipped it because it ate crocodile eggs. The crocodile in turn, it appears, was regarded as a representative of the principle of evil -- since it lived in swamps or in water /246/ (see Section 11 /Ed., not translated/) and was dangerous to man. /Fig. 198 appears here in the original text./ As a result, the destroyer of crocodiles, the monitor lizard -- which lived in the air, that is, on trees -- was probably regarded as a representative of the good. It is probably also for this reason that among the Pangwe the monitor lizard was promoted to the class of human beings, just like the Sciurus wilsoni (küe III) which likewise devours the eggs of animals living in swamps. A contrast to these two animals is the ichneumon, which consumes hen's eggs, and since the hen is a sacred animal because it symbolizes the principle of good (compare Section 11, /Ed., not translated/), it is flatly called a "criminal," nsǫ̈̆m I.

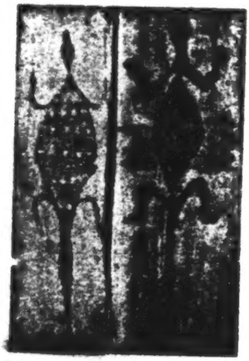

Fig. 197. Lizard Pattern on Decorative Bark Plates.

The triangle is to be found in two forms, as isosceles 531 triangles and as right-angled triangles. The former are the most frequent, occur everywhere on bark plates, and come

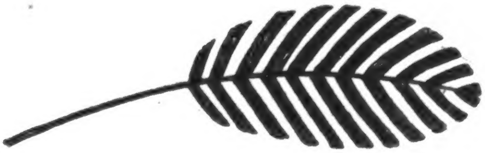

Fig. 198. Leaf of the Swamp Palm, *Sclerosperma mannii*.

about when, during house construction, two diagonally-crossed raffia leafstalk strips are stuck into the ground or under the boards in order to clamp down the bark pieces serving as the door or to stop up holes, a kind of fastening which was probably more frequent in former times and applied to the house walls themselves (Figure 196, *d*). As in the case of the diamond, here too the transition from the technical configurations to the permanent ornament can still be observed. Frequently, as ornamentation, crosses made of short stalk strips are placed singly or in a larger number next to each other under the slats of the house walls.

Whenever only one diagonal strip, instead of the two crossed ones, was laid over the bark plate, the right-angled triangle was formed (Figure 196, *e*).

The line occurs in the form of parallel lines, as snake-like lines, and as an arc.

Parallel lines are derived from the palm stems *Oncocalamus* (*nlŏ'n* I) which are carried in bundles from the forest to the site of house construction; when the bundles are loosened on the site, the smooth and elastic stems sometimes come to lie in more or less wavy lines parallel to each other (Figure 196, *f*). The same kind of arrangement arises with the bands from the palm stems, except that these are less elastic and hence form straight lines

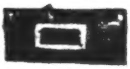

Fig. 199.
Box Pattern on a Decorative Bark Plate.

Figure 196, g). /Fig. 199 appears here in the original text./ Both kinds of parallel lines, the wavy as well as the straight, were transferred from here to the decorative barks. /247/

I imagine that the snake-like lines resulted from observing the seam where the slats and bark plates of the house walls are sewn together when these slats lie on top of each other. (See Fig. 35.) In this case, the rope is drawn around the slats in such a way that it forms a single, coherent line which, seen from the side, is quite wavy because of the natural rounding of the raffia leaf stalks halved lengthwise down the middle (Figure 196, h).

The arc appears as a part of the snake-like line formed by the string tied around the individual boards, especially at those points where these are not attached closely on top of each other (as in the previous case) but at wide intervals (Plate 12). The arc also appears as a segment of the snake-like line which has already been transferred as an ornament to the decorative bark (Figure 196, i).

The fishbone motif (Fig. 196, k) is reproduced by the attractive leaves, symmetrical both in structure and form, of the swamp palm Sclerosperma mannii M. et Wendl. (akṓda), Figure 198, which, braided like mats, are used instead of bark pieces for house walls, etc. (see Fig. 106, Plate 24 /Ed., this plate is in Vol. II/).

The basic patterns mentioned do not occur with the same frequency on the present-day decorative bark pieces. The rectangle by itself does not occur at all, the right-angled triangle and fishbone only once, and the snake-like line rarely. Also, the basic patterns do not occur throughout with the same distinctness any more. Instead, they have been changed in part, that is, they are homologous modified patterns.

I saw the rectangle modified only once, and in that case several rectangles of different size had been placed inside each other (Fig. 200, Series a; Fig. 199). It was called a box pattern (ežima, "box"). It was observed only once, and in conjunction with the imperfect execution this proves to me that the development arose, not with the decorative barks, but with wood carving, and later it was experimentally, as it were, transferred to the former.

With the isosceles triangles it may happen that the point of intersection is omitted or is, as it were, drawn apart into two points; perhaps for lack of material each diagonal was composed of two pieces (Fig. 200, Series b). From this comes a pattern whose name was given to me as the cutlass sheath pattern (abǎ'm nkpwē̦da) in the case of stool ornamentation, where it also occurs. Indeed, the pattern does resemble a cutlass sheath (see Section 17 /Ed., Vol. II/), but it occurs only rarely.

The simple acute-angled triangle occurs first due to the division of the isosceles triangles at the point of intersection (Fig. 200, Series c), secondly through the juxtaposition of two diagonally divided rectangles (Fig. 200, Series d) from which the common longitudinal side has been left out. /248/

/Fig. 200 appears here in the original text./

All triangles, both isosceles triangles and the simple acute-angled triangle, as well as the right-angled triangle, are usually designated as etǔn akǒṅ, "half a spear," that is, spear head.

Parallel lines are modified in the following manner. In fastening the palm bands to the bark, sharp nicks arise whereby the wavy lines become broken lines (Figure 200, e). In some cases they are then designated as angular braiding patterns, in Pangwe benīge be nkū́n or mabū́ge me nkū́n, that is, angles (nicks) of the women's storage basket, by which is meant the similar braiding pattern (see Fig. 166).

The snake-like line is transformed into a modified pattern by reduplication, in which case the two lines intersect (Fig. 200, f), and also into the stylized image of a leopard (zō̆), Figure 200 g, in which case the psychological process corresponds to that described in connection with the lizard pattern (Fig. 201). The peculiar, otherwise unintelligible drawing next to the tail /249/ in Figure 201, left, permits one to recognize the development. This is the starting point for a series of other animal motifs in Pangwe ornamentation, such as Figure 201, bottom, which probably represents a chameleon (džīngbwō̆').

The arc likewise appears in a doubled form, either with the curves placed against each other (epfoa = mask used in the Sso cult), Figure 200, Series h, or lying against the base line. In that case a

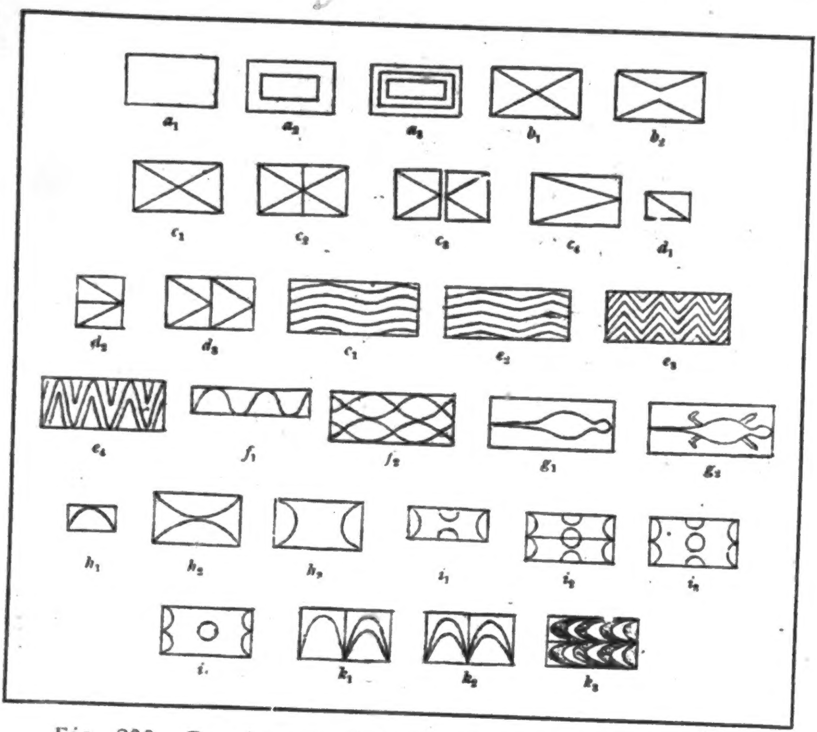

Fig. 200. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns on Decorative Bark.

circle is formed by the disappearance of the common base line (Fig. 200, Series i). Finally, we may get two arcs erected on the same base /Fig. 201 appears here in the original text/, so that between them there is a half-moon area (epfa ngomendan, "half-moon"), Figure 200, Series k. Several of such half-moons are placed on top of each other and painted alternately red and white; combined into rows of two or more placed next to each other, these produce a popular and attractive pattern.

The composite patterns -- as we have already said -- result from the combination of basic patterns or modified patterns. For the forms actually produced, I refer the reader to Figure 202 and shall merely remark that the most frequent combination is that of the isosceles triangle with the arc, which usually stands on the base of the acute-angled triangle and more rarely on that of the obtuse-angled triangle.

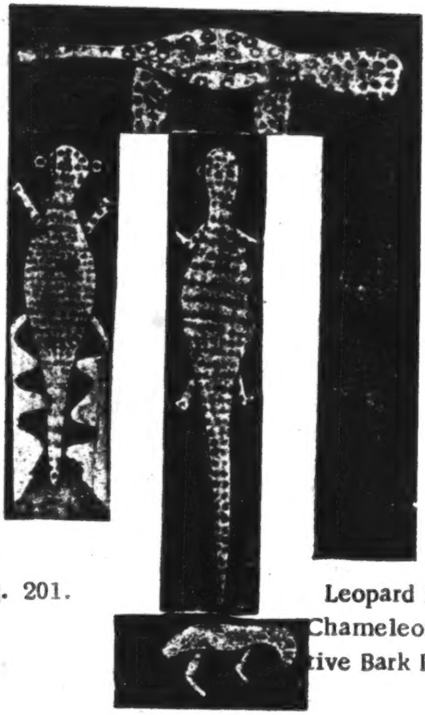

Fig. 201. Leopard Pattern (below Chameleon Pattern) on Decorative Bark Plates.

The pattern consisting of a head with two horns, Figure 204, has remained an isolated phenomenon on the decorative barks. It is a stylized reproduction of the mask (epfoa) used in the moon cult, whose details are indicated by arc-like or snake-like windings of palm bands. /250/

/Fig. 202 appears here in the original text./

2. Carving patterns.

The stools, the containers for red wood worked like stools, the handles of many stirring spoons and some ladling spoons, and, finally, the hide drums are decorated with carving.

The patterns on the stools are probably the oldest. They are applied all around the edge of the stool in such a way that it is surrounded by a band of from eight to twelve rectangular or square areas placed next to each other. Each of these areas

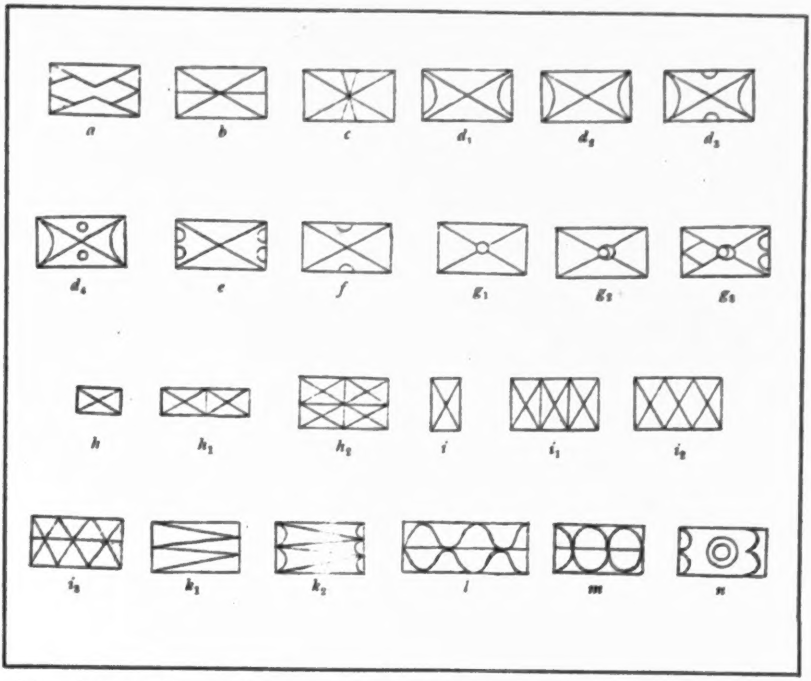
a
b
c
d_1
d_2
d_3
d_4
e
f
g_1
g_2
g_3
h
h_1
h_2
i
i_1
i_2
i_3
k_1
k_2
l
m
n

Fig. 202. Composite Patterns of Bark Decoration and their Origin.

a - Combined with Fig. 200, b_2

b, c, d_1 , e, f, and g_1 (each) Combined with Fig. 200, b_1

h and i - Basic pattern

k_1, - Combined with Fig. 200, c_4

l - Combined with Fig. 200, f_1

m - Combined with Fig. 200, h_1

n - Combined with Fig. 200, i_4

constitutes a pattern of its own, sharply separated from the neighboring one. As we saw in our discussion of manufacturing techniques, the edge of the stool corresponds to the round tree trunk from which it was made; similarly, the decoration that was originally applied to the bark was later transferred to the wood, and in this case, as in the case of bark, we encounter the same basic patterns, namely, the rectangle, the diamond, the lizard, the isosceles triangle, the scalene triangle, the parallel lines -- with the reservation that the pattern of parallel lines does not occur in the wavy form but only in the straight form, although as such, in a number of variations (Fig. 205) -- the arc, and the fishbone. /251/ /Fig. 203 appears here in the original text./ The snake-like line has been given up, but in its place new forms appear: the checkerboard, the spear with barbs, and finally an ellipsis pattern that cannot be designated more precisely.

In the checkerboard pattern (abŏ̀n nkoo, "segments of a sugar cane stalk") we encounter the first basic pattern which was not invented in connection with house construction but with braiding (Fig. 206). Both activities, however, are closely related and in a certain sense are two different forms of one technique, namely, of braiding in the extended sense: house "braiding," a lŏ́n ndǎ, is the older and simpler; basket (or mat) braiding, a lŏn nkǒɛ́, the more recent, more /252/ advanced. The same material is generally used for both, namely, palm bands (nlŏ̀n). The simplest type of braiding consists of running the braiding strips of one direction first under and then over those of the other direction (the two exactly at right angles to each other), alternating from row to row. /Fig. 204 appears here in the original text./ In this way a cube pattern is created which, if only one kind of material is used, is all of one color (mats, Sso baskets). If dissimilar materials are used, the pattern is varicolored, like our checkerboards (storage baskets of the Jaunde women, Figure 207, frames for helmet caps). The alternating sequence of darker and brighter squares in the individual rows is compared with the sugarcane stalk whose segments tend to be brighter in the upper half than in the lower half (Fig. 208). /Figs. 205 and 206 appears here in the original text./

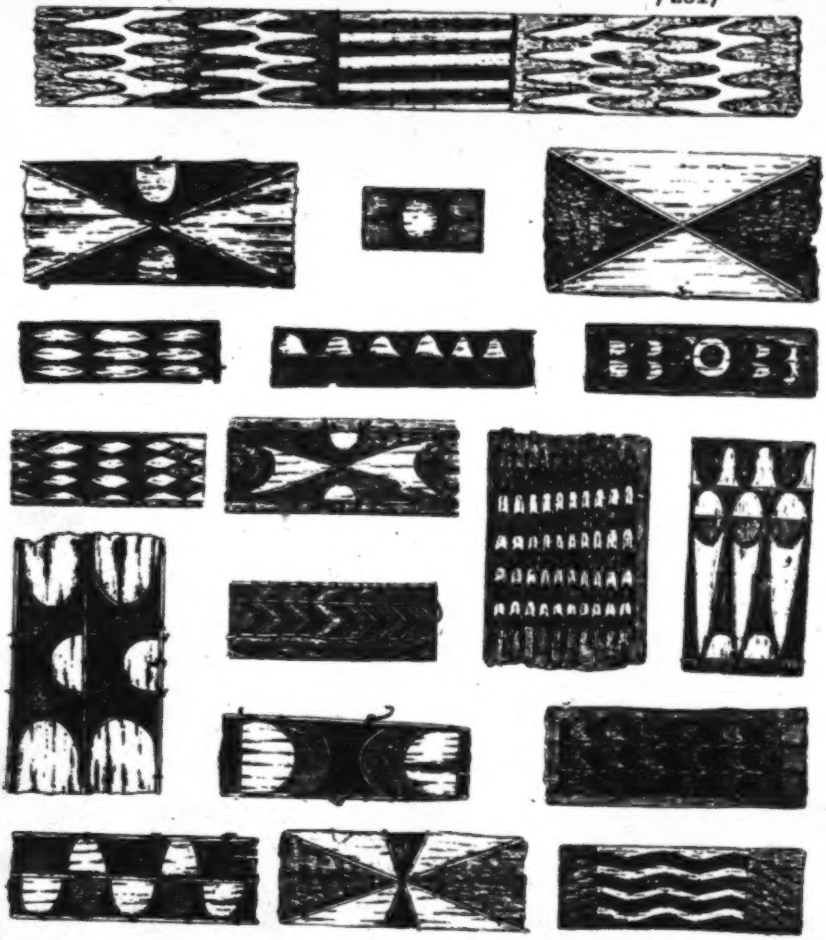

Fig. 203. Decorative Barks.

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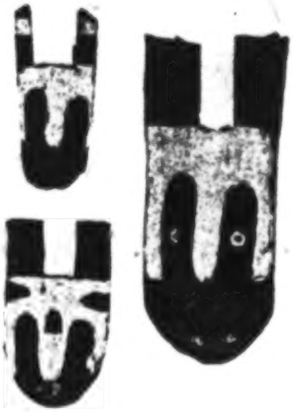

Fig. 204. Decorative Barks in the form of "Masks."

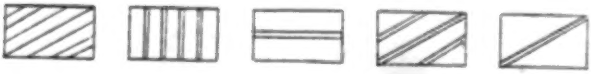

Fig. 205. Carved Patterns on Stools.

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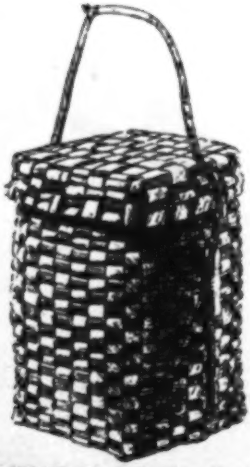

Fig. 207. Small Storage Basket of Jaunde Women, made of Pandanus Leaf Strips.

Fig. 206. Checkerboard Pattern.

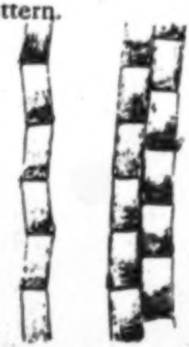

Fig. 208. Pieces of Sugarcane Stalk.

531 In contrast to the previous patterns, the spear with barbs (ngam akǒń) cannot be explained in terms of technology, nor do I believe for a moment that it was originally a carved pattern, especially since it rarely occurs on the stools (Fig. 40). /Fig. 207 appears here in the original text./ Instead, I suspect that this pattern first made its appearance with the decorative scar incising, and that later it gained a place also among the carved patterns because of its pleasing shape. /Fig. 208 appears here in the original text./

A single pattern consisting of ellipses could not be explained by any stool carver. I was told that only the specialist who knew how to prepare the patterns would know. I did not meet this person, however, and therefore must leave it to later research to provide enlightenment in this respect (Fig. 212, Drawing 27). /253/

Even among the stool patterns there is a discernible development of the basic patterns into modified patterns. /Fig. 209 appears here in the original text./ To some extent the development remained at the level of the decorative barks and displays exactly the same forms as they do, but for the greater part it progressed considerably and produced a rich abundance of new forms.

The following motifs recur: the box pattern (ežima) -- plain or in variations (Fig. 209, a) -- the checkerboard surface (ndǒk) composed of juxtaposed diamonds, the cutlass sheath pattern (abǎ́m nkpwẽda) -- plain and in a variation (Fig. 209, b) -- the acute-angled triangle, spearhead patterns (etǘn akǒń), the angular braiding patterns (benīge be nkǘn), Fig. 209, c, and the mask pattern (epfoa).

Concerning homologous modified patterns, there are the following new ones.

1) The file pattern (zaṅe wǫ̂s, from zaṅe = engraving, wǫ̂s = file) consists of juxtaposed small diamonds that are not emphasized (Fig. 211, a). The artist does not see the background, but the outlines and therefore compares these with the engraved lines of the roughened file which intersect regularly.

531 831 2) The strand of cowrie shells pattern (nlǒń e mvama): every second row of the diamonds, placed one above the other, is halved on the surface of the diamonds by a longitudinal stripe, originally

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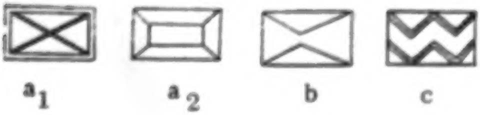

Fig. 209. Patterns on Stools.

a combination of the patterns of a diamond and a parallel line (Fig. 211, b), and this suggested a string of cowrie shells. The similarity of the two is shown by Figure 210. It seems possible to me that in this case a further relationship between the cowrie shell and the diamond pattern plays a role. The Togo Negroes, for instance (according to an oral communication from the missionary, C. Spiess), recognize in the cowrie shell an image of the vulva; since ancient times the diamond pattern has been viewed in the same way by the Pangwe. After the introduction of the cowrie shell, the Pangwe immediately recognized its similarity to the diamond and transferred to the former the symbolism of the latter. As in Togo, the cowrie shell is regarded among the Pangwe as a symbol that brings good fortune, and, as such, it is applied to medicine horns or hung on anchored nets as a hunting medicine. Another symbol that likewise /Fig. 210 appears here in the original text/ brings good luck is the diamond which they paint onto their skins with redwood (a color that brings luck!) or tattoo onto their skins as a permanent pattern. We find 531 831 [[71]] [77]

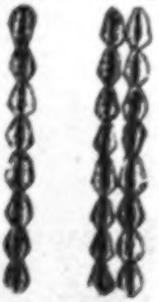

Fig. 210. Strings of Cowrie Shells.

here a remarkable contradiction in their conceptions. As we have seen, the sexual act was performed in connection

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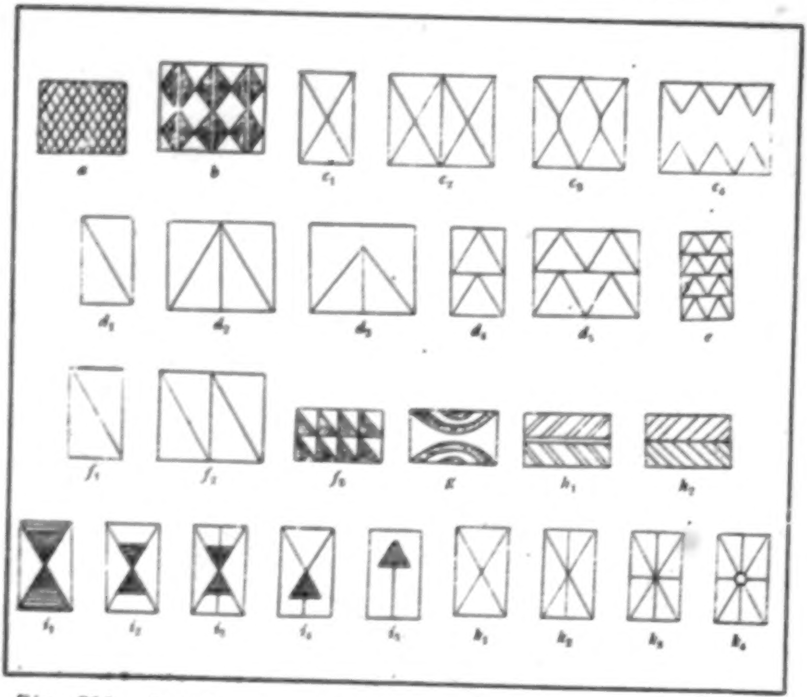

Fig. 211. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of the Art of Carving.

531 831 with the sowing of ngon as a process furthering fertility; /254/ /Fig. 211 appears here in the original text/ in the case of iron smelting, on the other hand, the sexual act is strictly prohibited as something disturbing. The significance of everything sexual as bringing misfortune predominates throughout, and I therefore believe that we are dealing here with two temporally different conceptions: one, now recognizable only in remnants, which is older and concerns the influence and the influencing of fertility; another which arose later or was added later and concerns the sinfulness of sexual intercourse.

531 3) The arrow-leaf pattern (esŏgele ndu = leaf on crossbow arrows to balance the flight).

4) The spike pattern (mesŏ'n = spike, or mesŏn m'egbwẽle = spikes of the iron money).

Both consist of a number of triangles which have come about either as final members of the development of Series c (Fig. 211), 531 starting from the isosceles triangles, or of Series *d*, starting from the right-angled triangle. If the triangles have a broad base and are either empty or filled with triangles placed inside each other and erected on the same base, they are called "arrow /255/ leaves"; if they have a narrow base, they are called "spikes." The latter form especially is also designated as "spearheads" (*etŭn akŏṅ*) when the triangles are large and as a result are placed next to each other and not in rows over each other.

5) The scaly anteater tail pattern (*ngĕ'm e kă'*) developed from the broad-based, acute-angled triangle through placing several parallel rows of smaller triangles over each other (Fig. 211, *e*).

6) The carving pattern (*zăṅ e myŏt*, from *zaṅ* = carving, notch, and *myŏt* = raffia instrument whose cross piece is notched) develops from the diagonally divided rectangle through the juxtaposition of several rows of such rectangles with similarly directed diagonals, in which the removal of one half emphasizes the corresponding triangles (Fig. 211, *f*).

7) The *rainbow pattern* (*metū'tŭ'm*, "rainbows"). Two rainbows are placed with their arches against each other; in each one additional arcs are inserted concentrically, and the interstices are usually accentuated alternately (Fig. 211, *g*).

8) The *fishbone pattern* (*okăṅ eǒ ks*) arises from the leaf pattern of the swamp palm through simplification of the bands to lines (Fig. 211, *h*).

Among the nonhomologous modified patterns there are: the *triangle spear* (*mbă[s] -akŏṅ*), a composite of isosceles triangles and lines, as the result of a development illustrated in Figure 211, Series *i*; and the *spider web pattern* (*ndănebŭbo*), a composite of the isosceles triangle and a circle (see Figure 211, Series *k*).

As on the decorative barks, patterns are also combined into composite patterns in carving, but much more frequently so. Either two are juxtaposed (for instance, rainbow and fishbone patterns, Fig. 212, Drawing 9, and swamp palm leaf and diamond patterns, Fig. 212, Drawing 26), or they are placed inside each other. Thus, Figure 212, Drawing 16, shows the box pattern and in it a composite tattoo pattern (isosceles triangles and a line); Drawing 8 shows the same with an animal in it which was usually explained to me as a cat; Drawing 40, the same with a triangle spear in it. The

531 combination of triangle and arc occurs very frequently and in such a way that the arc is placed inside the triangle and on its base line (the triangle usually is long and drawn out with acute angles), Figure 212, Drawings 3 and 45; or it is the other way around, the triangle being placed inside the arc so that its tip falls in the middle of the arc base and its base is on the arc line (Fig. 212, Drawing 45).

The natives like to fill a triangle or a shallow arc with the fishbone pattern (Fig. 212, Drawings 11, 13) or to combine two of the latter with each other. A popular practice also is to divide a pattern into two halves and to push a second / 256 and 257/ /Figs. 212 and 213 appear here in the original text/ /258/ in between, as in Figure 212, Drawing 44, where the pattern of a string of cowrie shells is pushed into another, and Drawing 43, where a swamp palm leaf pattern is pushed into a checkerboard pattern. Especially in the last example one can clearly recognize that the one pattern was actually inserted and that it is not a matter, say, of two other patterns being joined at the top and the bottom of the first.

All the patterns mentioned, aside from their use on stools, are also applied to the handles of the stirring spoons -- except that in the adaptation to the available space they are smaller and less neatly executed -- but they are very rarely applied to the ladling spoons. 531 534 On the other hand, many hide drums are decorated in a superbly artistic fashion; one might say that the first area of Drawing 1, Figure 213, represents a triumph of carving. As with this one, all the large hide drums of the Pangwe have carving patterns applied on triangular areas in relief between the upper and lower drum ring (which frequently is decorated in the same fashion). Among the Ntum and Fang these areas extend over the entire mantle of the drum cylinder so that their base lies at the top and their tip at the bottom. Among the Mwai the mantle surface is divided by a ring into two halves which are filled in with triangles pointed towards the center (Fig. 214). The decoration itself is much simpler among them.

531 Furthermore, among the Mwai I saw a house post which was carved with similar patterns in the same arrangement as the drums.

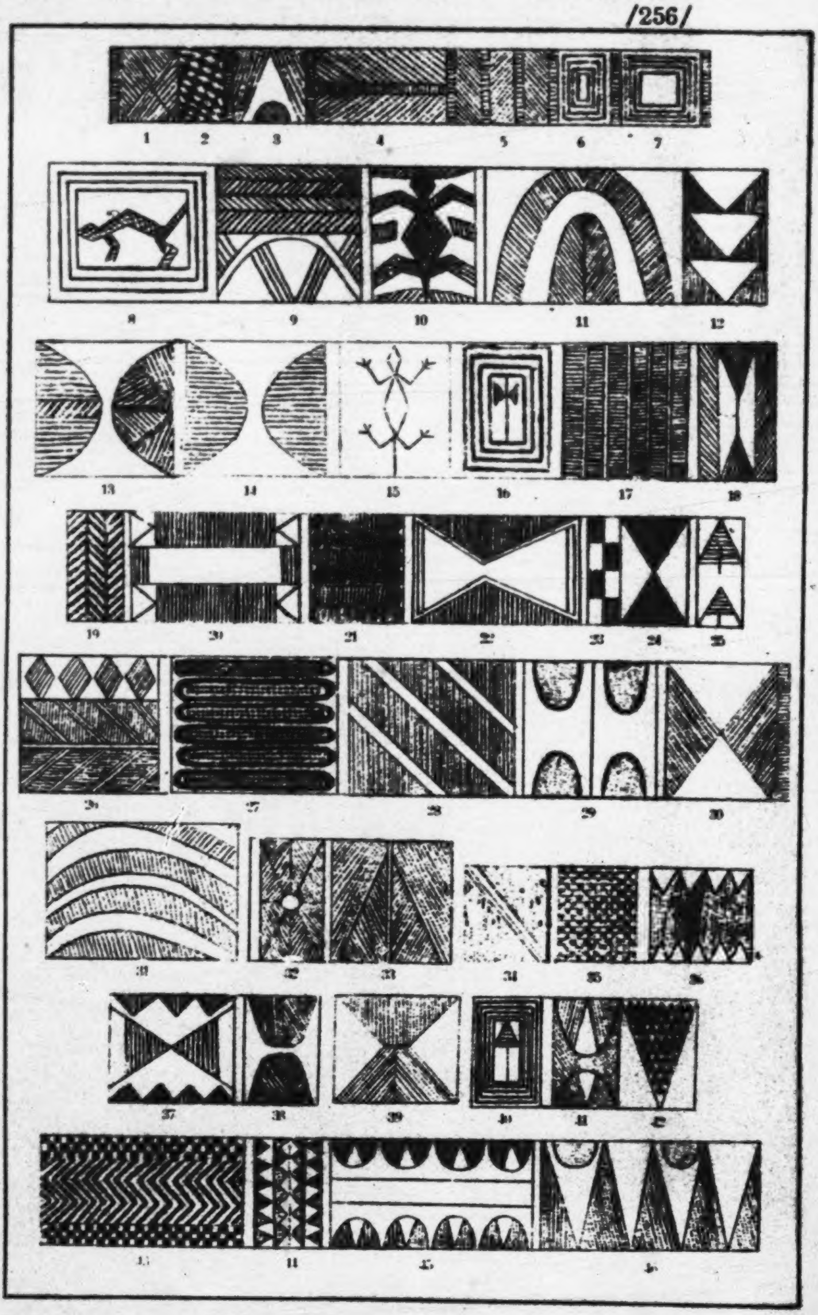
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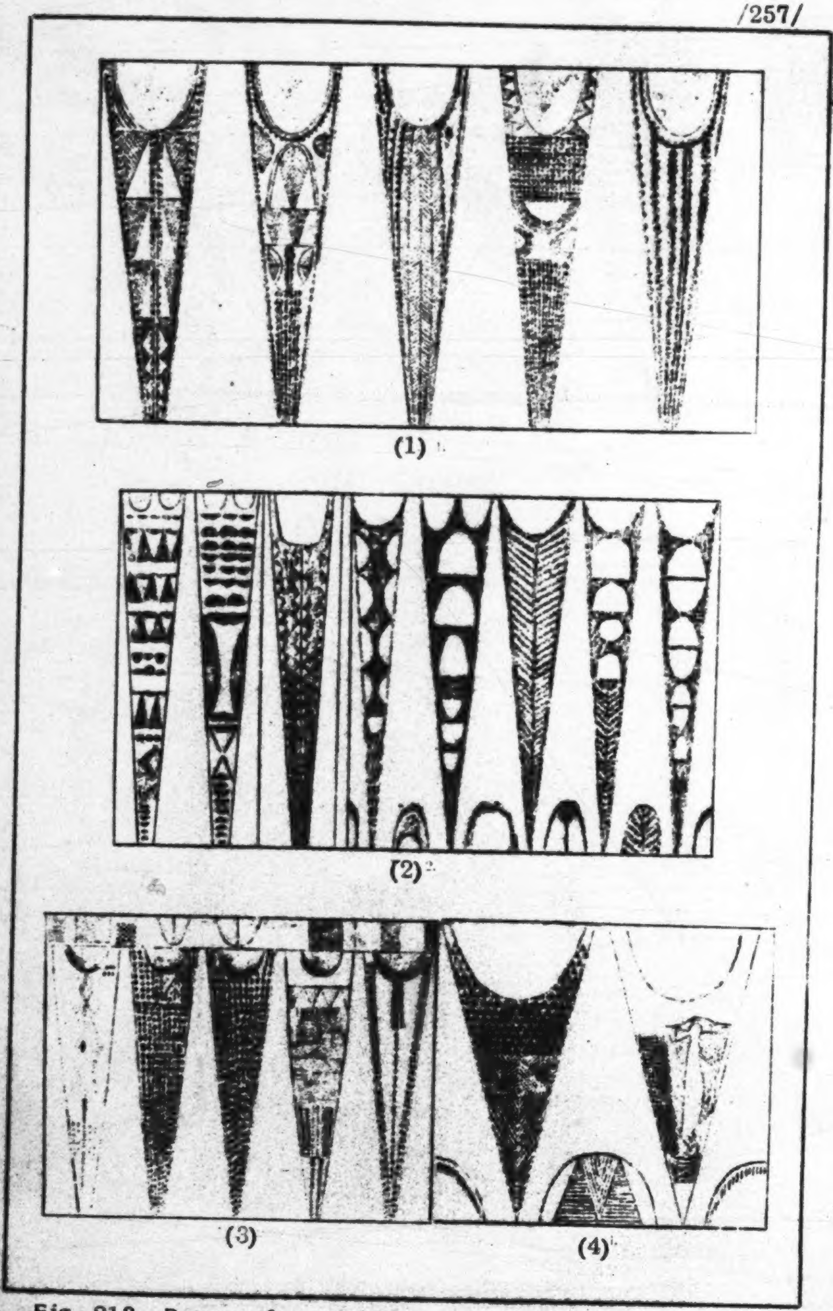
Fig. 212. Stool Patterns.



(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

Fig. 213. Patterns from Hide Drums (rolled out).

3. Incised patterns.

(a) Decorative scars.

531 /Fig. 214 appears here in the original text. /

304 The patterns of the decorative scars made by incision are not very numerous. There are only about a dozen of them. They constantly recur in the same form, and there is no inclination toward any essential modification.

Of the original basic patterns, the following have been transferred for the decorative scars: the triangle with a diagonal drawn through it (called in this case esȧ[s] -mvắn, "half-pattern"), Figure 215, Drawing 9; the straight parallel lines (in this case called mekön, "guide rods"), Figure 215, Drawing 10, frequently simplified to a simple line, 1; and the arc a (in this case called makǒ̄s, "arcs").

[534] Of the homologous modified patterns there are the acute-angled triangle b (ndŭ́-mbắn, "arrow leaf") and the circle c (in this case called atọ̄k, "whirlpool"). Of the non-homologous modified patterns there is the triangle spear d (mbắ[s] -akŏ́ń). We are also familiar with the barbed spear e (ngam-akŏ̀ǹ), of which I have already said that it originated with decorative scars, in all probability from a /259/ /Fig. 215 appears here in the original text/ /260/ combination of the line (of the modified straight parallel line) with the figure of the arc set inside a triangle (see Figure 212, Drawing 3), the base of which is lacking.

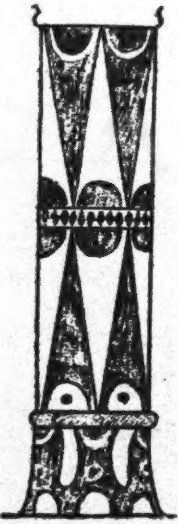
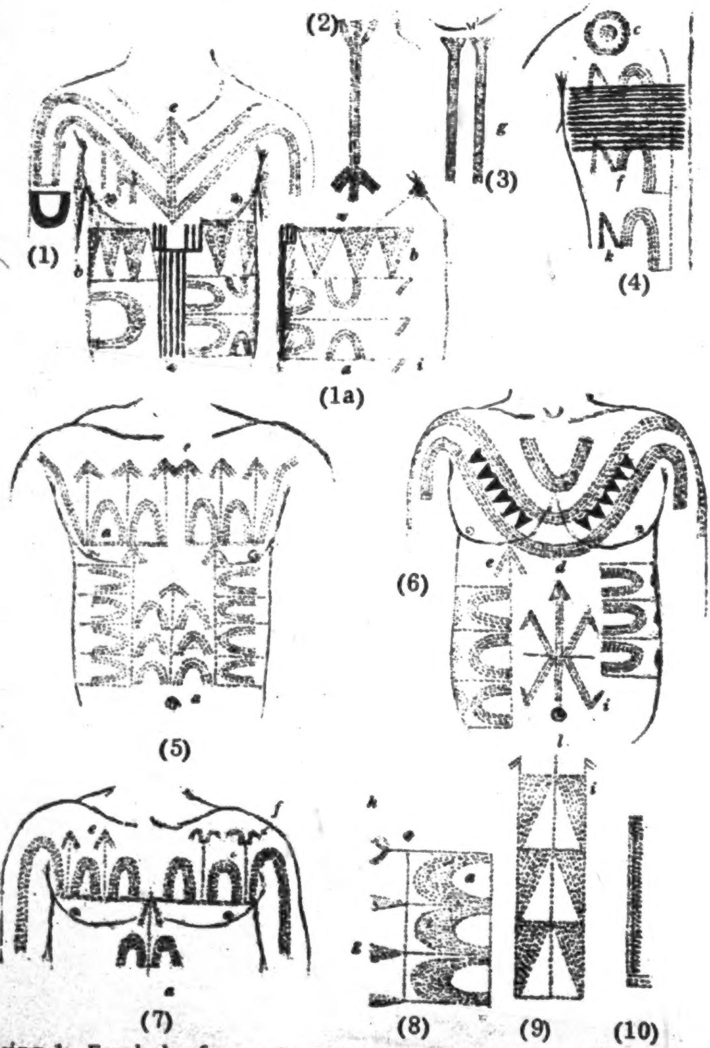


Fig. 214. Mwai Drum from Malén (Sebō̧ Family), New Cameroons.

Fig. 215. Decorative Scars. /259/



Drawing 1. Essabok, front. Drawing 1a. Same, stomach from the right side. Drawing 2. Jaunde, neck and back. Drawing 3. Essauong, below chest. Drawing 4. Schumu, left half of back. Drawing 5. Schumu, front. Drawing 6. Oköng, front. Drawing 7. Oköng, chest. Drawing 8. Schumu. Drawing 9. Esseng. Drawing 10. Jemandschim. -- Drawings 1, 4, and 6 are in part tattooed.

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The following are new:

among the homologous modified patterns, the incomplete arc *f* (*eyū'da*, "bending");

among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the blast pipe *g* = *žŏṅ* (triangle with a line), the ray *h* = *nsăm* (angle made by the barbed spear by omitting the handle, with a line attached at the top), and the hook *i* = *kŏb* (half an angle with a line).

The five patterns -- sticks, blast pipe, hook, ray, and whirlpool -- have a close relationship, as their names show, to iron technology and to fire. The line was imagined to be the guide rod which during the setting up of the smelting furnace keeps the openings free for the blast pipes. In the triangle with line -- accidentally juxtaposed in a corresponding arrangement -- they thought they recognized the blast pipe. The same process is repeated with the hook (*kŏb*), by which is meant the poker hook (*okŏb*) used in iron smelting; and it is again repeated with the whirlpool (*atōk*), which was observed when the hot metal was dipped in water to cool off: the water would bubble up (*a tōk*, "to bubble") and hiss and flow outward in rings. Finally, this process took place with the ray (*nsăm*), the most obvious manifestation of the life of fire as well as of the sun, which is represented as an arm, exactly as among the ancient Egyptians, because the arm is the symbol of the manifestation of life (see Fig. 215, Drawing 8 *h*, and also Adolf Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion* /Egyptian Religion/, image of the sun god, p. 78).

A pattern described to me as that of a tobacco pipe (*myŏ-taa*), a pattern which probably developed just like the blast pipe pattern from triangle and line, remained an isolated instance.

A pattern that was not explained to me was one representing an angle (*k*); it is connected with the triangle.

The decorative scar patterns seldom occur singly, say, in such a way that one adorns the upper arm, a second the chest, and the like. Instead, they usually occur in extensive combinations in which, however, the individual parts are always seen as independent units and keep their original name. Only twice did I encounter a special term for such a combination of patterns, but even this designation was not connected with the content of what

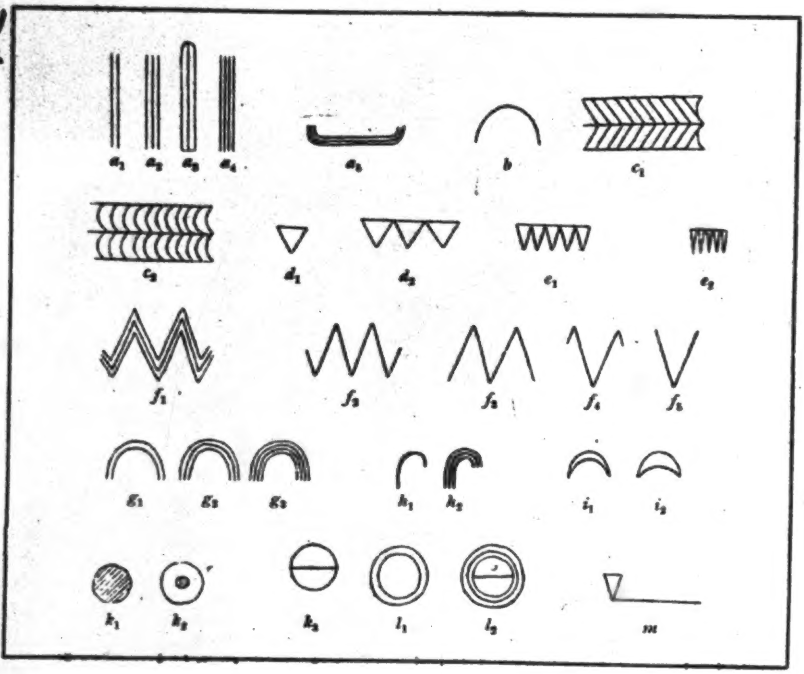

Fig. 216. Basic Patterns of Tattooing.

was represented, but with the place on the body to which the pattern was applied. One was called navel division (osa-dǒb) (1)

1. a sa, "to split, to divide"; dǒb, "navel."

and was applied above the navel (see Fig. 215, Drawing 6). It consisted of a cross-stick which had attached to it, at the top and the bottom, hooks, triangle spears, sticks, and arcs -- in former times it had evidently been located lower down around the navel in such a way that the cross-stick passed through the navel and /261/ /Fig. 216 appears here in the original text/ "divided it." The other combination (zǎṅe abǎ́m) consisted mainly of half-patterns (diagonally divided rectangles) and bore its name only for the reason that it is preferred for the sheaths of swords and two-edged knives (Fig. 215, Drawing 9).

1: Tessmann--294 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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304 The Fang consider the decorative scars an elegant adornment. Indeed, even considered with the eyes of a European, they may be called attractive and dignified, especially when they are arranged with such extraordinary regularity as is shown in Figure 215, Drawing 5.

(b) Tattooing.

The development of ornamentation advanced further in tattooing in that the basic patterns become rarer, whereas the modified patterns become more frequent and more diverse.

By way of basic patterns (Fig. 216) we again find the following: the diamond (here as a single diamond, *bendǒ be bə̄*, "diamond made with redwood," compare Fig. 218, *c*); the monitor lizard (*nkaak*); straight parallel lines (here likewise called *melǒ́ṅ*, "palm bands," or *mekõn*, "sticks," /262/ /Fig. 217 appears here in the original text/ and also *mekõn akǒṅ*, "spear handles," or *mekõn e mvǎ́ṅ*, "sticks of the decorative scars"), *a*; bows /Ed., or "arcs"/ (here called *ēkṳ̆luga-nkpwǎ̧s*, "trap bow of the bird trap"), *b*; fishbone (*okǎń e kǒ̤s*, "fishbone," here in part with a bow-shaped formation of the branches, *c*. Among the homologous modified patterns there are: the box pattern (*ežima*); the arrow-leaf pattern (*esõgele ndu*), *d*; the spike pattern (*mesǒ́ṅ*), *e*; basket-edge pattern (*mebǘge me nkū̃n*, "basket edges," or *melǒ́ṅ*, "palm /263/ bands"), with retrogressive metamorphosis to the angle, *f*; parallel bows (here likewise called *ekṳ̆luga nkpwǎ̧s*, "trap bows," or *melǒ́ṅ*, "palm bands," or *bewǒ̤[k] be nkǒg̱'*), *g*; incomplete parallel bows (*eyū́da*), *h*; half-moons (*efangǒmendǎn*, compare bark patterns), *i*; circle (here called *ndži̧ge ngǒmendǎn*, "full moon"), *k*; and whirlpool (*atō̤k*), *l*. Among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the barbed spear (*ngam akǒ́ṅ*) and pipe (*mvǒ̤ taa*), *m*.

New patterns that appear are (Fig. 217) the following.

1) The *bird tail* in three varieties: the kite tail (*ngǎb-obǎ́m*), *a*, 1-3; the drongo tail (*ngǎ̤b obǎ́mǒke*) (1), *b*, 1 and 2; and the

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1. *Dircanurus coracinus* Verr.

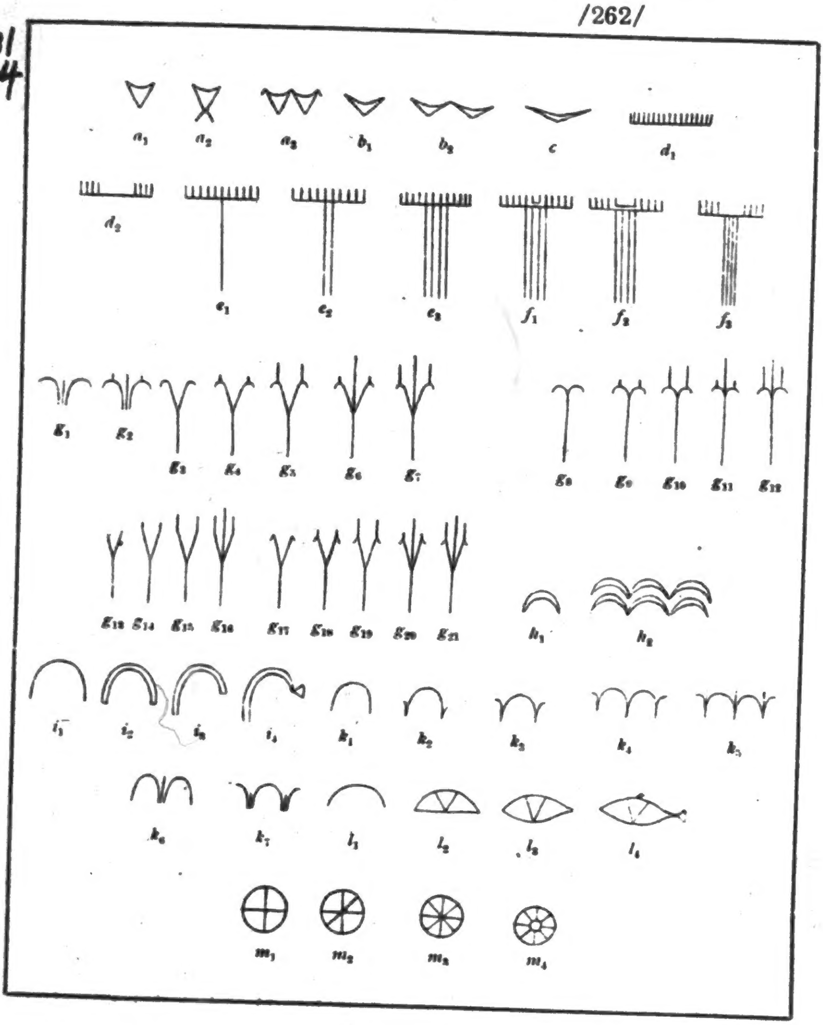
a_1 a_2 a_3 b_1 b_2 c d_1
d_2 e_1 e_2 e_3 f_1 f_2 f_3
g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4 g_5 g_6 g_7 g_8 g_9 g_{10} g_{11} g_{12}
g_{13} g_{14} g_{15} g_{16} g_{17} g_{18} g_{19} g_{20} g_{21} h_1 h_2
i_1 i_2 i_3 i_4 k_1 k_2 k_3 k_4 k_5
k_6 k_7 l_1 l_2 l_3 l_4
m_1 m_2 m_3 m_4

Fig. 217. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of Tatooing.

53/ 304 swallow tail (*ebṓno e kŭlejé̱me*) (2), *c*, which has arisen from

2. *Psalidoprocne tessmannii* Rchw.

the arc without a base set inside a triangle. We have already encountered this figure with the base as a composite pattern in connection with carving, and with the base omitted it is connected with a line as a barbed spear among the nonhomologous modified patterns of the decorative scars.

2) *Tears of a beautiful woman* (*mī̦lĭge me mbŏń*), a single line or parallel lines with short strokes attached at right angles to one side, *d*. This pattern is preferably applied to the cheeks.

3) *Fork* (*ebā̱i̦*), developed from the previous one by adding one or more sticks, *e*, 1-3.

4) *Scorpion* (*kā̱́dĕlḛ̆ne*), like the previous one, with a gap in the middle of the "row of tears," *f*, 1-3.

5) *Monkey tail* (*ngĕ̱́m avŏ́m*) (3), consisting of a stick con-

3. *avŏ́m* = *Cercopithecus laglaizei* Pocock, white-nosed long-tailed monkey.

nected with an arc or angle, *g*, 1-21. This example in particular clearly shows how the Negro's eye seizes just the essential part of the animal, here the tail and hindparts, for, indeed, when the long-tailed monkeys are at rest one sees only their tails hanging from the branches. This fact supplies the clue to the following

[524] riddle:

ěsū́ma gbwḗ e bĕle ma matắ[k] m'ovŏ́ń.
Yellow-bellied long-tailed monkey (4), it is sitting in the

4. *ěsū́ma* = *Cercopithecus grayi* Fraser.

branches of the Copaifera.
Answer: *nkō̰-etō̃b* = rope (aerial roots) of the fig tree (Ficus).

531 304 The situation was exactly the same with the swallow whose characteristic forked tail gave rise to the pattern, and we shall observe the same with the leopard whose spots have given the pattern its name, as well as with the hornbill whose beak did the same. /264/

6) Leopard spots (zö), Fang, or parrot claws (biē̩'ī, be kǚs), Ntum, a number of half-moons placed over and next to each other, h, 1-2.

7) Hornbill beak (ngū́ṅ, "hornbill," Ceratogymna atrata Temm.), a curve (incomplete arc) with a triangle attached to it, i, 1-4.

8) Frog's legs (enǎm edžọ̌́) (1), a series of juxtaposed arcs with vertical lines between them, k, 1-7.

9) Fish, Barbus guirali Thomin (mvǎ̄), developed from arc and triangle, as row 1, 1-4, shows, but observed only once in its perfect form.

10. Spider (abǔb), originated from isosceles triangles set inside a circle. As in the case of the corresponding stool patterns, the triangles are in part halved lengthwise, m, 1-4.

Among patterns which I only observed once each we should mention the following.

The double iron bell (nkǒn) consists of an arc with two triangles [177] attached to it (Fig. 219, a). I saw this pattern on a coastal Mwai, and it is probably a borrowed one, since a double bell does not occur among the Pangwe.

The knife (okǒń) probably originated from the rectangle (box pattern), perhaps together with the triangle. It is possible that the pattern is intentionally made to resemble a European knife (Fig. 218, b).

The sea fish (kọ̌[s] a mǎń) originated from a circle and lines. It is probably meant to portray a sea fish, a sea turtle, or the like. The artist here has placed it inside a whirlpool consisting of concentric circles (Fig. 219, c).

1. edžọ̌́ – Rana zenkeri Ndn.

531 304 It seems significant that these three last designs deal with objects that are foreign to the land or to the culture of the Pangwe. Indeed, I believe that, besides the play on familiar patterns, the conscious intention of capturing a remembered image is added here. In other words, we have, as it were, a transition from conventional patterns to purely free hand drawing.

A similar process perhaps underlies the "chameleon" (*džīngbwō′*), which I saw twice. In the first case, it was quite obvious that it had arisen from the rectangle attached to a half-moon, because the arch of the half-moon was on the wrong side (Fig. 218, *d*). In the second case, the animal had been captured in good realistic detail as regards its body and head (Fig. 218, *e*).

The composite patterns, which -- as I have mentioned -- are extraordinarily frequent in tattooing, are so diverse that they cannot all be mentioned here. We frequently find the half-moon combined with a line and tears, triangles and sticks, and so forth (Fig. 220). /265 and 266/ /Figs. 218 and 219 appear here in the original text./ /267/ /Fig. 220 appears here in the original text./

(c) Decoration of raffia stalks, etc.

531 I myself have not seen the technique of decorating raffia stalks, since I did not succeed in meeting anyone who was a master at it. It is supposed to be carried out with a tool which, by drilling or scraping, takes off the upper layer of the raffia bark.

In this branch of ornamentation, we again encounter types of all the patterns developed in the various crafts and specialized arts (Fig. 221). The following occur.

Among basic patterns: rectangle (engraving pattern); single diamond (smearing of the body); monitor lizard (bark pattern), Drawing 5; isosceles triangles, in this case not quite completed (bark or carving patterns); parallel lines; straight or wavy (bark patterns); arc (bark, carving, or tattooing pattern).

Among homologous modified patterns: box (carving pattern); arrow leaf (carving or tattooing pattern); scaly anteater tail, in this case not completed (carving pattern); spearhead (bark

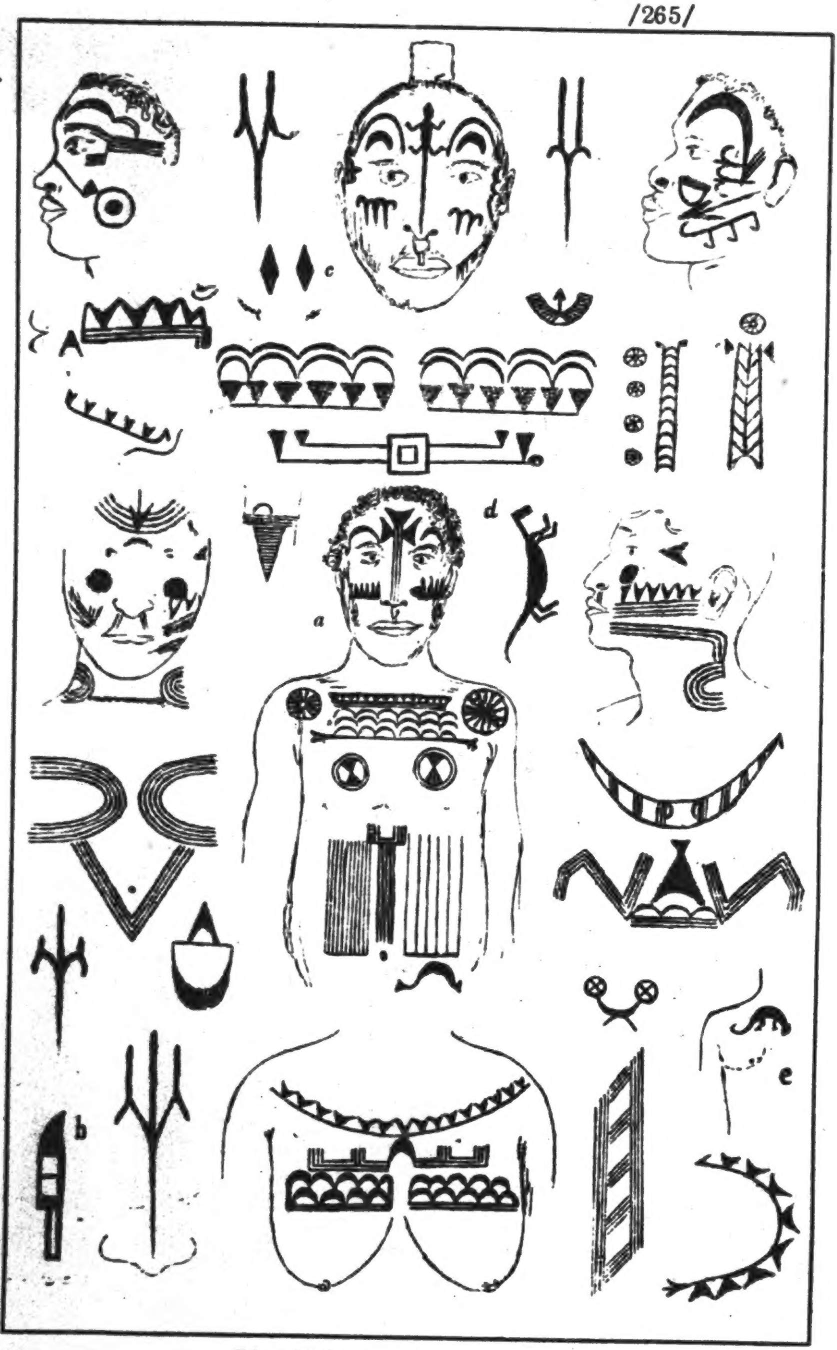

Fig. 218. Tattoos.

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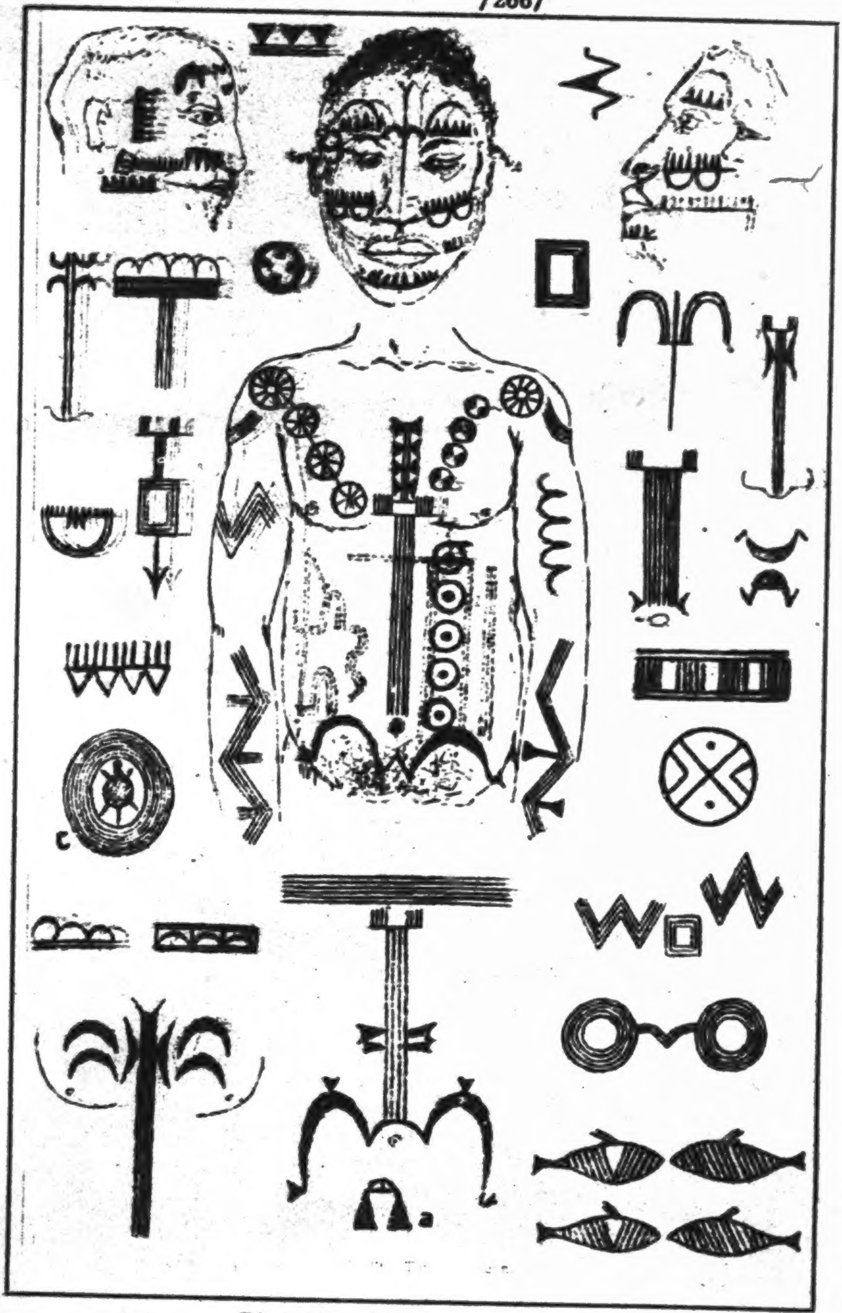

Fig. 219. Tattoos.

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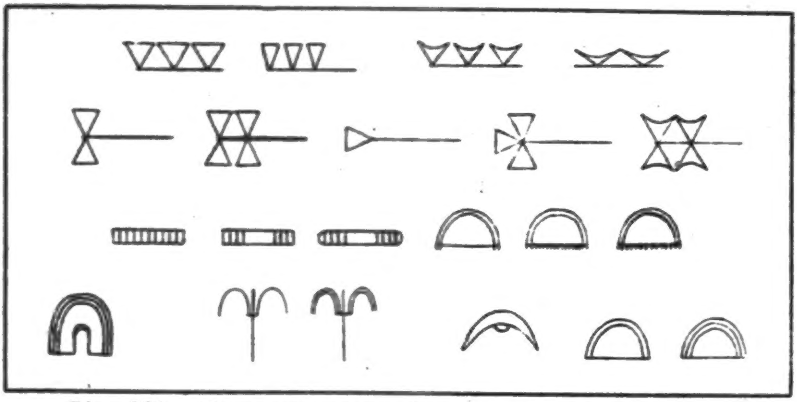

Fig. 220. Composite Tattooing Patterns.

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or carving pattern); moon (tattooing pattern); parallel arcs (tattooing pattern).

Among nonhomologous modified patterns: kite tail (tattooing pattern); barbed spear (decorative scars or tattooing pattern); sun (painting); chameleon (bark or tattooing patterns), Drawing 4 b, Drawing 2a.

Among composite patterns: two lines with triangles (tattooing pattern); tears and arc (tattooing pattern); double barbed spear (tattooing pattern); line with two arcs (decorative scar pattern); three-fold parallel arcs (tattooing pattern).

New patterns that appear are: a composite of squares into which a bow is set on opposite sides, Drawing 2 a (single square with bows; carving or engraving pattern); a figure eight with circles (bands) drawn inside it, Drawing 4 a. Furthermore, there are a number of figures which were probably taken over from painting, /268/ /Fig. 221 appears here in the original text / /269/ namely, a man (quadrangle, lines, an arc), Drawing b; a fish (triangles, lines), Drawing 2a, c; a rifle (triangles, lines), Drawing 3 a; a monkey (moon, circle, hook, line), Drawing 3 b; a cat (bow, circle, lines), Drawing 2a, d.

4. Engraving patterns.

Neck rings, foot covers (more rarely, foot and finger rings), sword blades, and battle axes are decorated with engraved patterns.

Among the neck rings only the three-edged ones are decorated and then in the middle of the front surfaces in three square or

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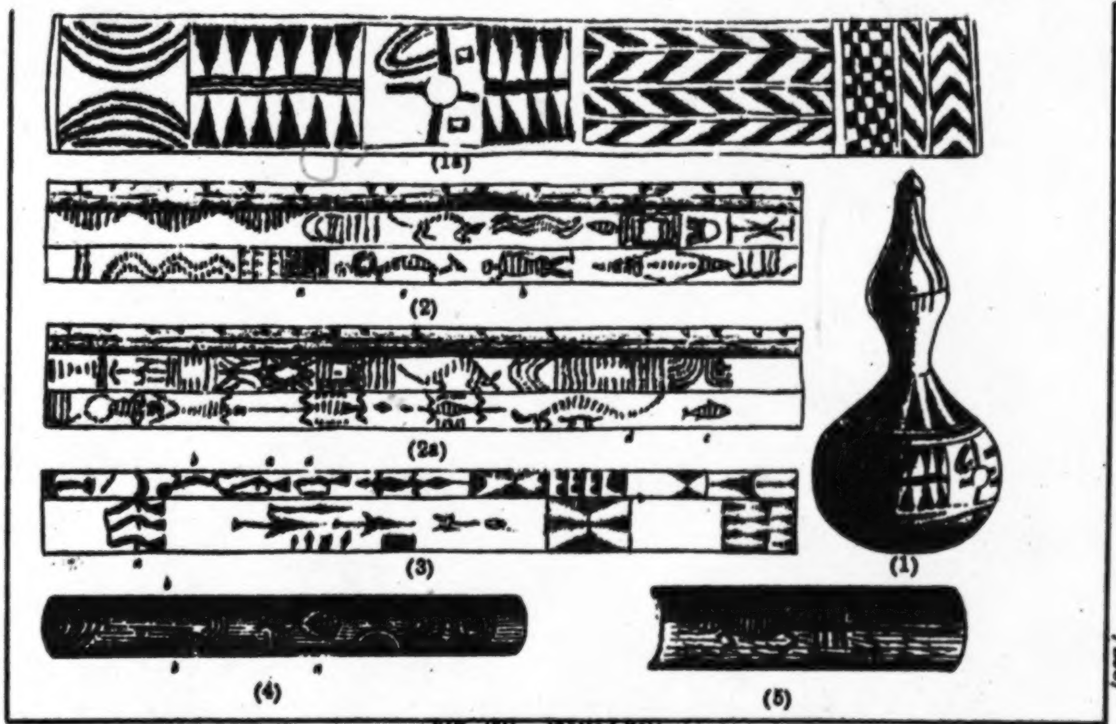

Fig. 221. Incised Patterns.

Drawing 1. Ornamental calabash. Drawing 1a. Patterns on this calabash, spread out. Drawings 2 and 2a. Patterns on a walking stick made from a stalk of Raphia vinifera (spread out). Drawing 3. Pattern on a walking stick made from a stalk of the Raphia Hookeri. Drawing 4 and 5. Patterns of raffia sticks on a bench in a meeting house.

rectangular areas next to each other (Fig. 222a, Drawings 1-10). The two center areas display throughout four arcs, one placed at each border, which in part are chiseled into the surface in deep notches. An arc worked in the same manner is set on each of the outer edges of the lateral areas. The lateral areas themselves are engraved with different patterns, that is, almost exclusively in "basic patterns," namely, the rectangle (Drawing 10), the diamond (Drawing 6, Drawing 10), the rectangle bisected by a diagonal (Drawing 9), the double parallel lines (Drawing 1), the arc (Drawings 1-10), and the fishbone (Drawing 2). Among homologous modified patterns only the circle occurs (Drawing 8). /Fig. 222a appears here in the original text./ /270/

The decorations on the foot cover are related to those of the neck rings as the carved patterns are to the bark patterns, that is to say, they display more highly developed forms (Figure 222b, Drawings 11-13). Basic patterns also occur, but only in combinations, such as the arc (here called nkódo, "bending") with the

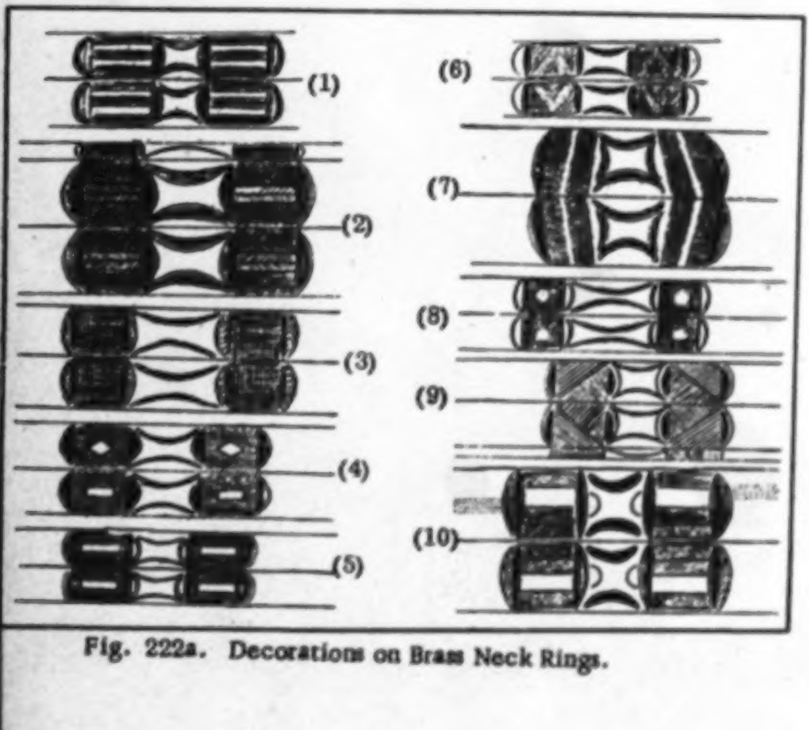

Fig. 222a. Decorations on Brass Neck Rings.

531 triangle (Drawing 11, 2), the arc with the fishbone (Drawing 11, 1), the arc and parallel lines (Drawing 11, 4 and 5), the fishbone and fishbone (Drawing 11, 3), spikes with parallel lines (Drawing 13, 2), and the triangle with the rectangle.

As a new pattern the male centipede (nŭ́m e ngūɛ̄'n) appears (Drawing 13, 1), a double loop formed by parallel lines, which further develops into the patterns shown in Drawing 11, 6, and Drawing 12, b and d, but keeps the same name.

531 411 In the case of the swords (Fig. 223, Drawings 1-12), the patterns are applied only to the lower end of the blade and cover a more or less square field which directly adjoins the handle. Concerning the arrangement of patterns in this area, the Pangwe distinguish two kinds. In one, the area is patterned regularly over the

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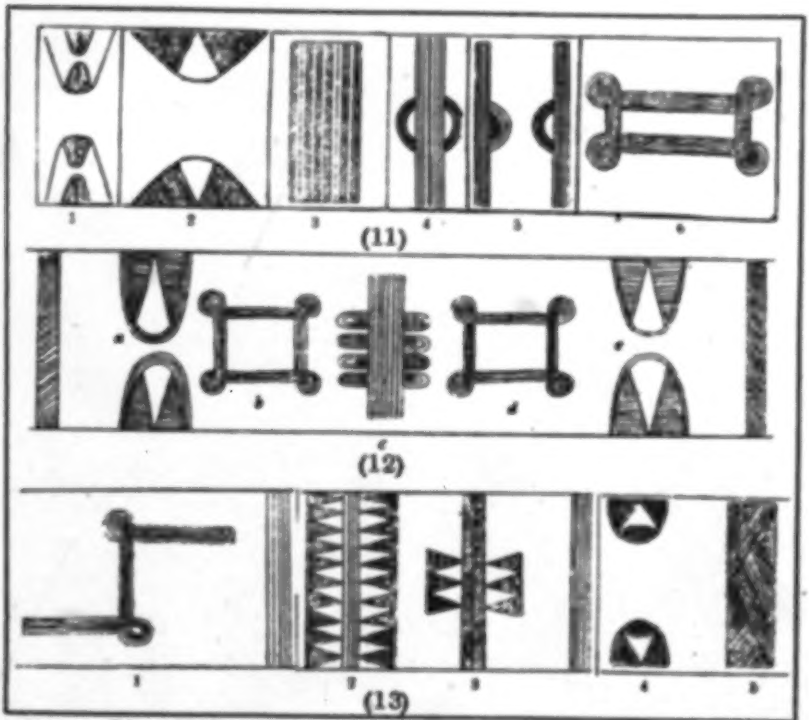

Fig. 222b. Decorations on foot coverings.

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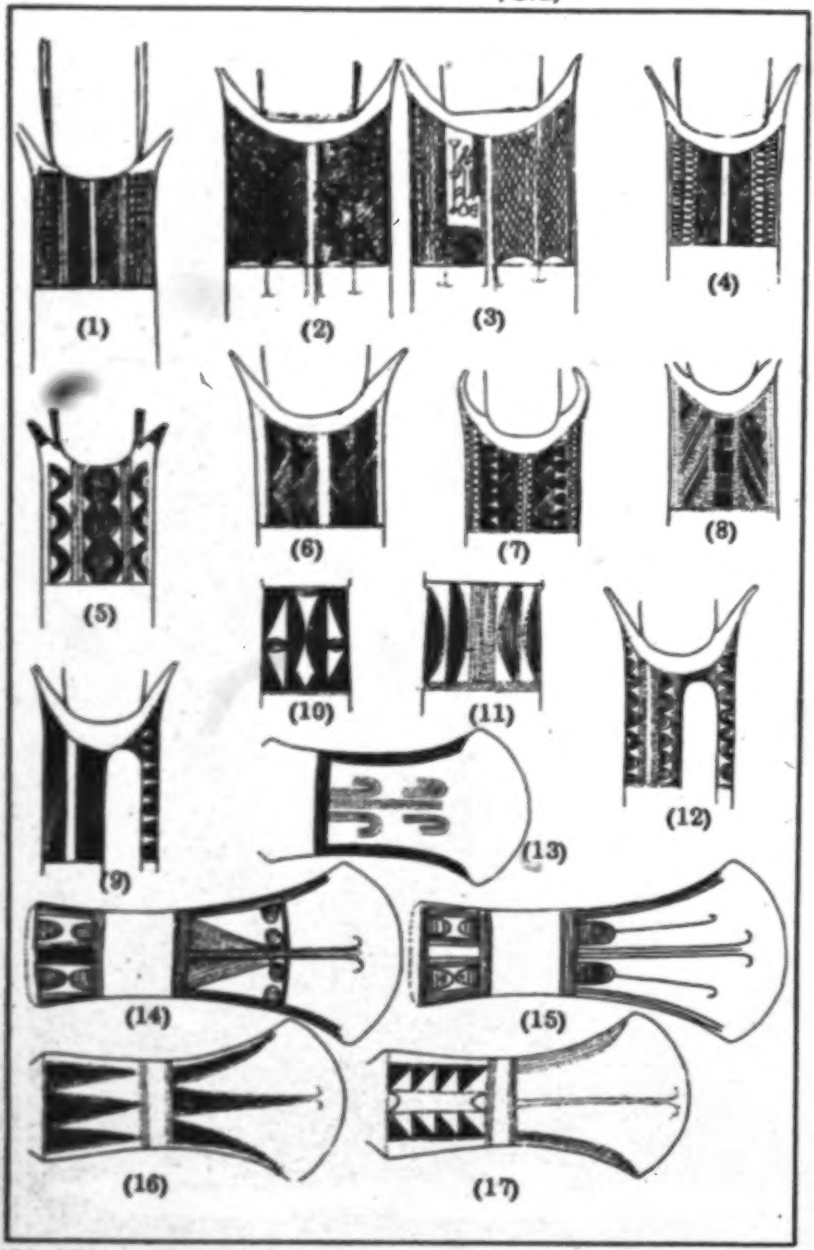
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)
(5)
(6)
(7)
(8)
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Fig. 223. Decorations on Swords (Drawings 1-12) and Battle Axes (Drawings 13-17).

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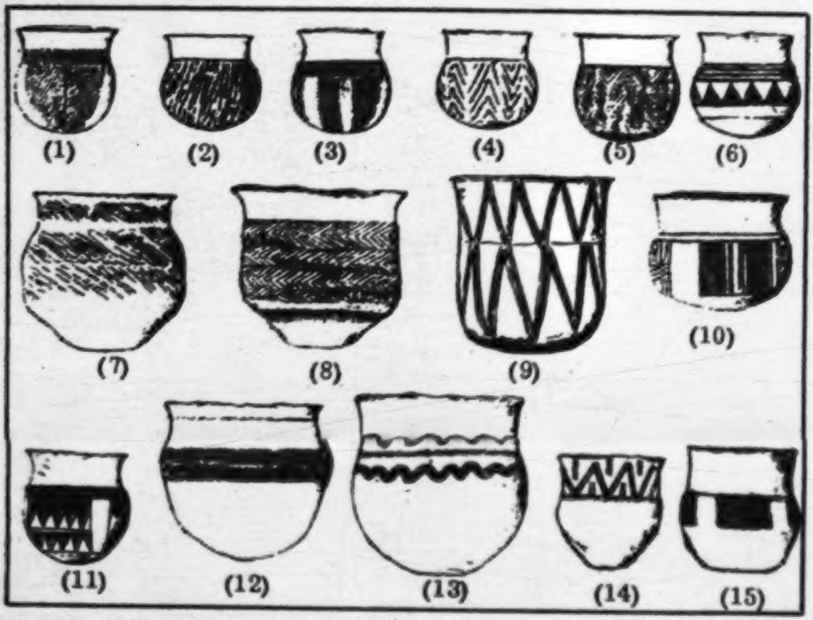

Fig. 224. Pottery Patterns of the Ntum, Fang, and Mwai.

531 entire surface; in the /Fig. 22b appears here in the original text/
411 /271/ /Fig. 223 appears here in the original text/ /272/ /Fig. 224 appears here in the original text/ second, a longish segment remains free (Drawings 9 and 12), by virtue of the fact that the narrow blood groove (which is usually present) is widened towards one side.

The patterns themselves are almost exclusively basic patterns in all kinds of combinations.

A selection of patterns on battle ax blades is illustrated in Figure 223, Drawings 13-17.

As a note we must mention the decoration of the brass sheaths for swords and two-edged knives. The lines of these decorations are composed of a great number of little bosses punched out to the outside with a piece of iron (see Fig. 141). Almost always the patterning consists of half-patterns (rectangles divided by a diagonal) strung together in a series, which is familiar to us from the decorative scars.

531 A conception of the development of the pottery patterns is conveyed by Figure 224.

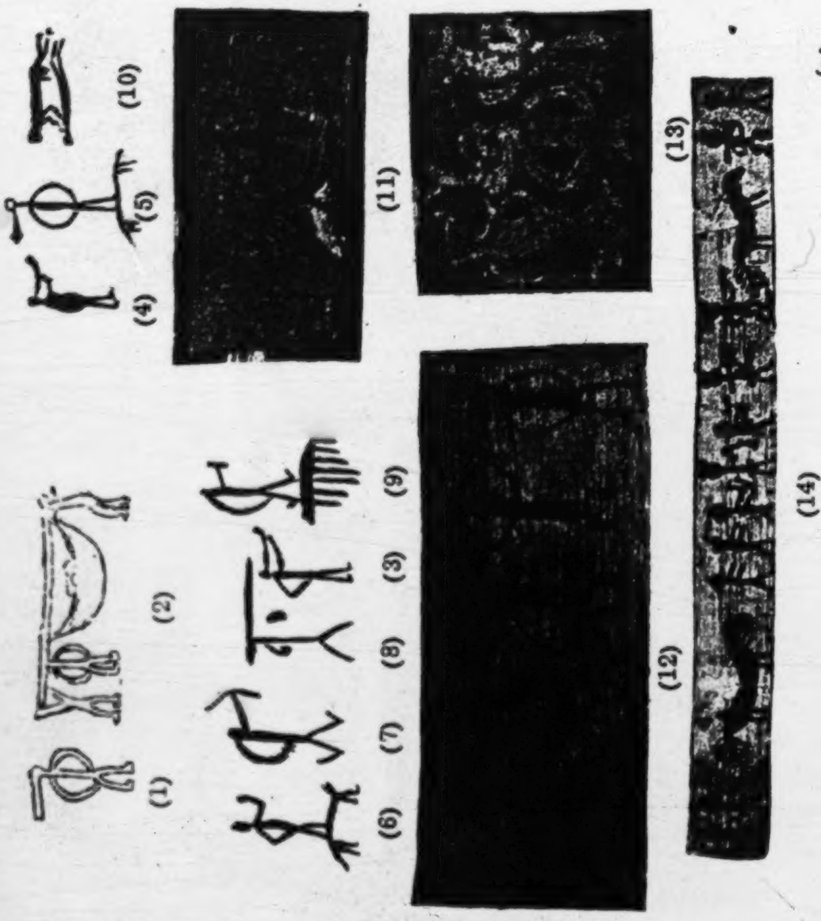

Fig. 225. Drawings on House Walls (Drawings 1-10) and on Bark Plates (Drawings 11-14). Drawings 1, 3, 4, and 8. Man with a tobacco pipe. Drawing 2. A European carried in a hammock. Drawings 5 and 11. Man with tobacco pipe on horseback. Drawings 6 and 9. Man on horseback. Drawing 7. Man with a dog whip. Drawing 10. Coitus. Drawing 12. Three people and an animal (chameleon?). Drawing 13. People. Drawing 14. Caravan of two Whites on horseback, accompanied by soldiers.

B. Drawing and Painting.

532 353 Drawings are scribbled on the exterior bark walls of the houses especially by children or adolescents. More rarely drawings are made on special bark strips that are attached to the inside walls of the meeting houses.

532 177 The drawing motifs are taken from secular life and frequently from a foreign culture (Fig. 225). Most frequently, tobacco pipes, /273/ /Fig. 225 appears here in the original text/ smoking men, and riders on horseback are represented in the drawings. The riders are regularly placed with both feet on their horses in the manner of Buffalo Bill. The horses themselves are always badly drawn; they might as well belong to the family of lizards (Drawing 6), or for that matter they might be identified as cats or centipedes (Drawing 9). At best they are equipped with a long, fishbone-shaped tail (Drawings 11 and 14), so that one immediately suspects that the artist has never seen a horse. This suspicion is strengthened when one observes a preponderant number of drawings of horses even in the remotest villages where it is certain that none of the inhabitants has as yet been to the coast. /274/ /Fig. 226 appears here in the original text. / It is therefore probable that the ancestors [174] of the present-day draftsmen saw horses among the equestrian peoples of Adamawa or other African peoples, in an earlier era before the Pangwe moved to their present location. The knowledge of this animal would then have been transmitted to their descendants by means of pictures that were copied again and again.

In villages affected by European culture -- primarily those along the caravan routes -- we frequently find drawings of Europeans. Often, to correspond with their skin color, these are painted white; some drawings show them by themselves, others have them being carried in a hammock and accompanied by servants; others again show them on horseback riding ahead of the soldiers who are accentuated by red caps. The rider's legs are drawn behind the animal (Drawing 14), just as in the drawings of our children.

531 Otherwise we find people frequently represented with spears or rifles, but that is about the extent of artistic ideas. Drawings of

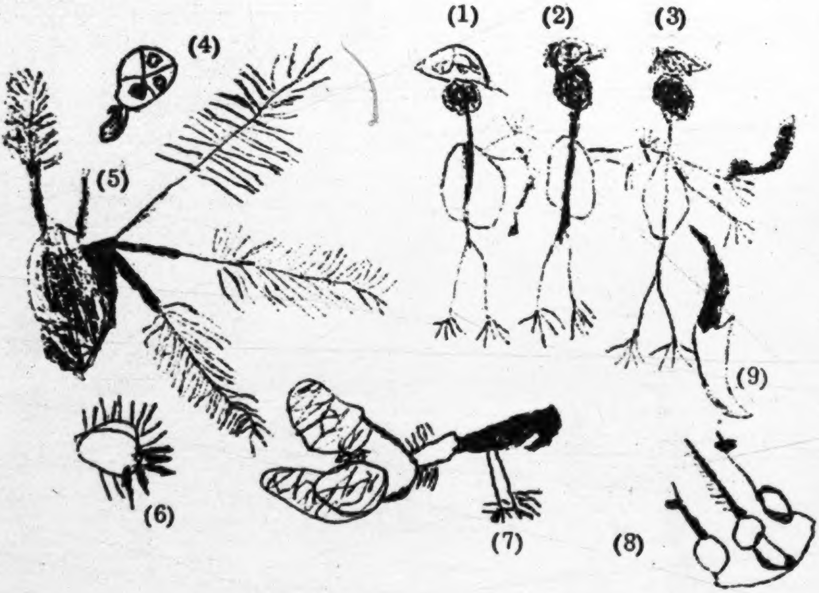

Fig. 226. Drawings by a Servant of the Author. Drawings 1-3. The author. Left, with a whip; right, with a walking stick. Drawing 4. Pocket watch belonging to the author. Drawing 5. Raffia palm. Drawing 6. Porcupine. Drawing 7. Man on a bicycle. Drawing 8. The author's key chain. Drawing 9. European pincers.

domestic or wild animals are very rare, there are none of plants, and as to tools, only the most striking ones (for instance, the large forging iron). Besides, most of the drawings are only scribbling anyway, in which only the author -- and perhaps not always even he -- had any idea of what he was doing. Obscene pictures, such as the one shown [831] in Drawing 10, Figure 225, are a great /275/ rarity; in the majority of drawings representing persons the sex organs are completely omitted. The sheet of pictures which my black boy gave to me as a farewell present, which he also adorned with my picture (Fig. 226), is of significance only for the "modern trend in art" and perhaps also for the general conceptual ability of the natives; 532 for the rest, however, it has no ethnographic value since such a creation would never have come about without external influence.

C. Plastic arts.

The plastic arts are still wholly 532 rooted in religion and hence derive their motifs from 769 the conceptual realm of ancestor worship and of the great cults.

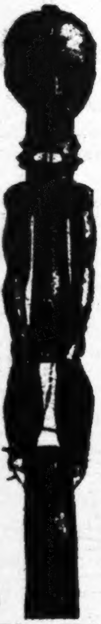

Fig. 227

Top of a Chief's Stick with a Human Figure.

The ancestral figures are heads carved out of wood or full figures in the African style, that is, with a recurrent lack of expression which, despite all the superficiality of the given forms, nonetheless seems to me to reflect a certain amiable naiveté and a quiet humor. To be sure, this effect hardly makes itself felt in the cold museum cases, but it does so in the native environment, especially when the natives carry the figures about at their cult festivals and make them dance. At any rate, the figures never bear the distorted, animalistic traits that distinguish Papuan art.

The large figures associated with celebrations for the ancestors are striking exceptions among the ordinary ancestral figures which are carved out of a single piece of wood. These large figures have attached arms which are slightly movable, legs, and sex organs.

In the same category as the ancestral figures we should place 532 the following which probably have a primarily religious significance: human figures at the ends of a number of chief's sticks (Fig. 227); furthermore, human heads on the center pillars and on the posts of the benches in the meeting houses, on the harps, and on the box musical pipe. On the other hand, the carving on the memory game is probably purely secular; at one end this carving forms a head. The same applies perhaps to the animal

532 representations on the posts of the meeting house (for instance, the leopard biting a pig's tail).

532 794 The masks used for the moon cult have a purely religious significance, as do the clay figures of the various cults. Indeed, especially in the latter the plastic art of the native rises to achievements of significant, one might even say monumental, proportions, both in the actual physical sense of the word (I saw figures eight meters long) and in the sense that they represented the idea symbolically expressed in a striking manner.

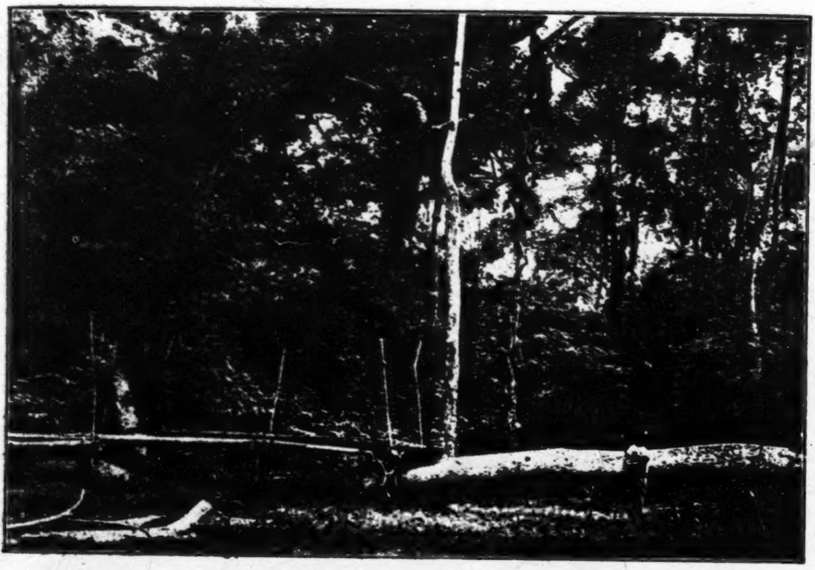

Fig. 1. In the Forest near Makonanám, Spanish Guinea.
In the foreground, a tree trunk and bridge (left) over a swampy place.

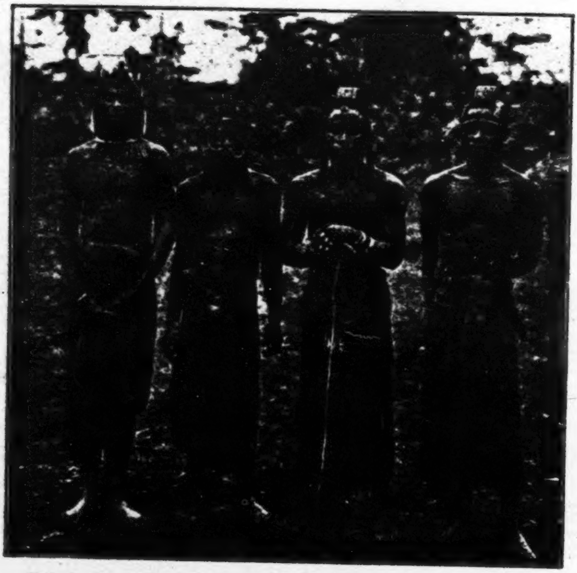

Fig. 2. Fang Youths (Essáuong and Omwang Families), Spanish Guinea.

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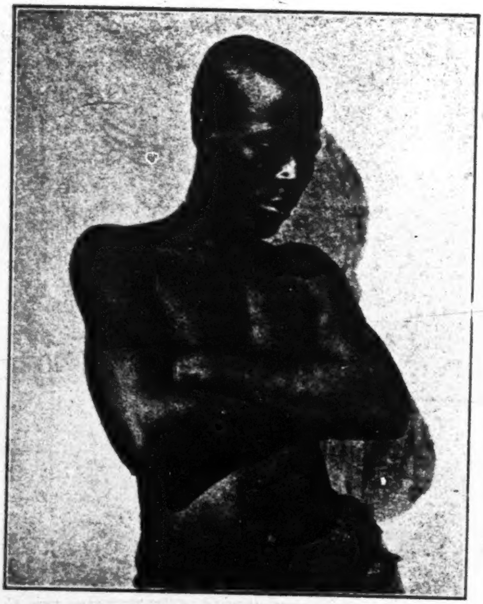

Fig. 3. Ntum from Akonang: (Essándun Family), South Cameroons.

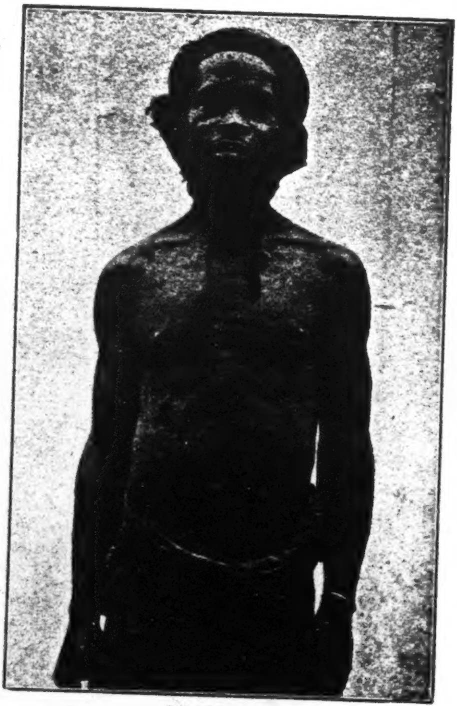

Fig. 4. Ntum from Bébai (Esseng Family).

1: Tessmann--316 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142

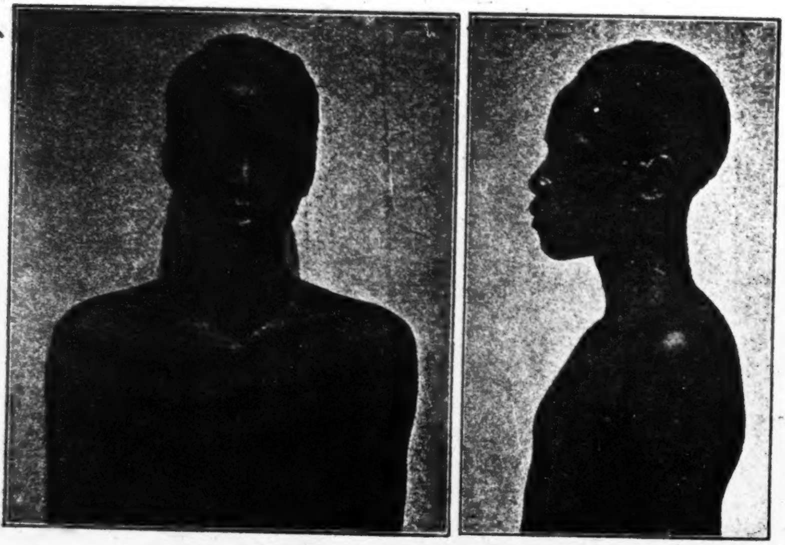

Fig. 5. Essun (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

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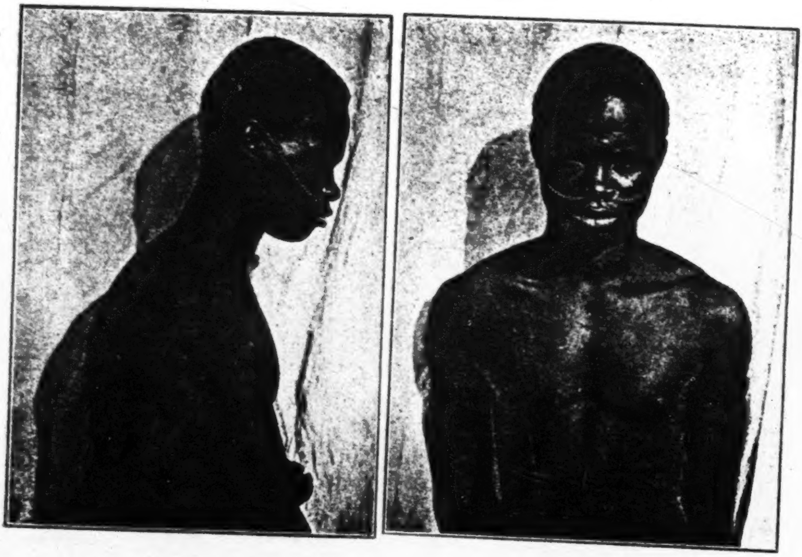

Fig. 6. Ondo from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

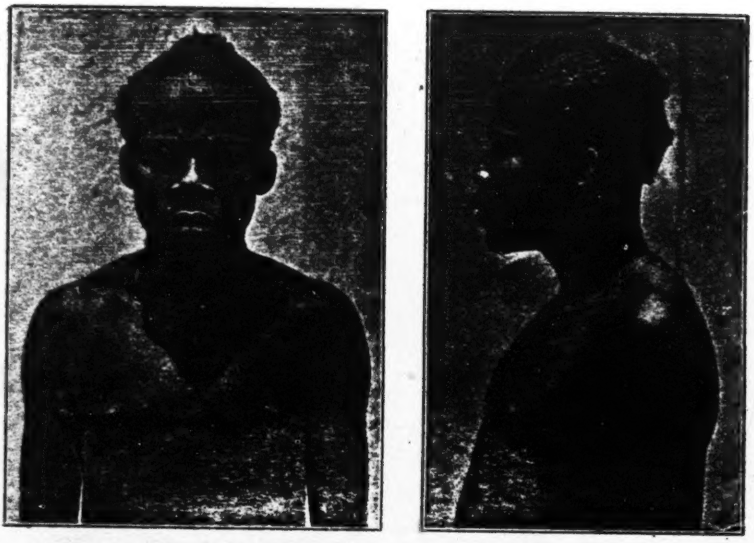

Fig. 7. Ntum (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

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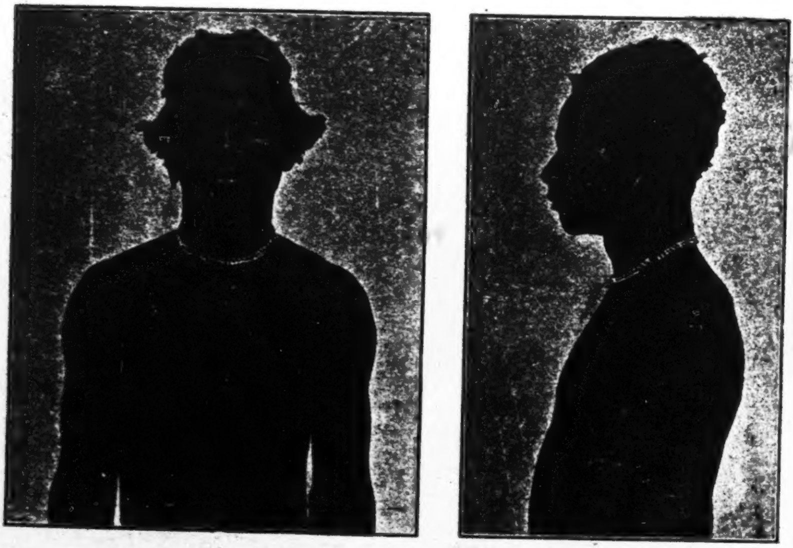

Fig. 8. Ndong-Alogo (Ojek Family),
Spanish Guinea.

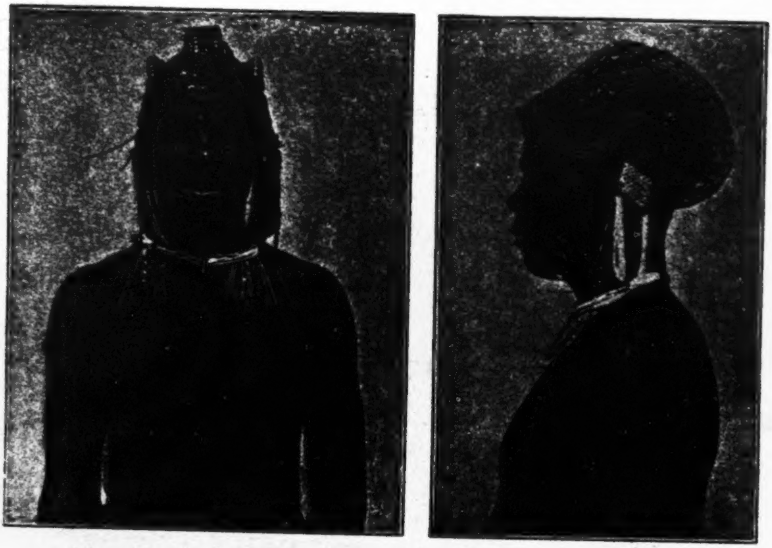

Fig. 9. Essún-Meko from Alén (Essáuong Family), Spanish Guinea.

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Fig. 10. Otschắa-Kénsoo (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

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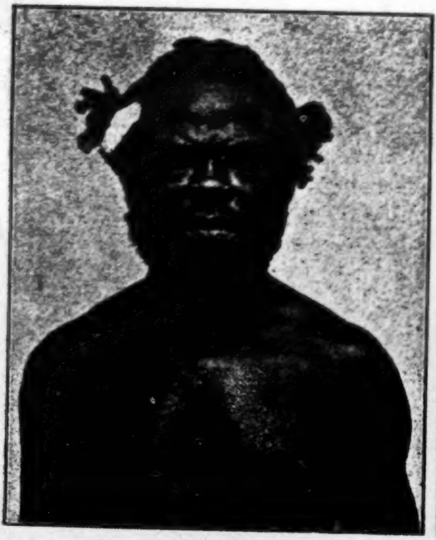

Fig. 11. Fang (Essâtop Family), Spanish Guinea.

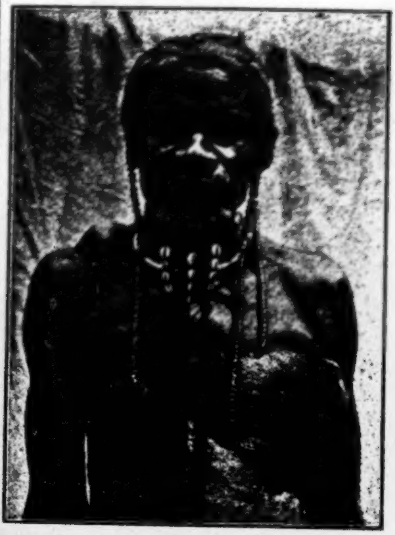

Fig. 12. Medicine Man from Ebâangon (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

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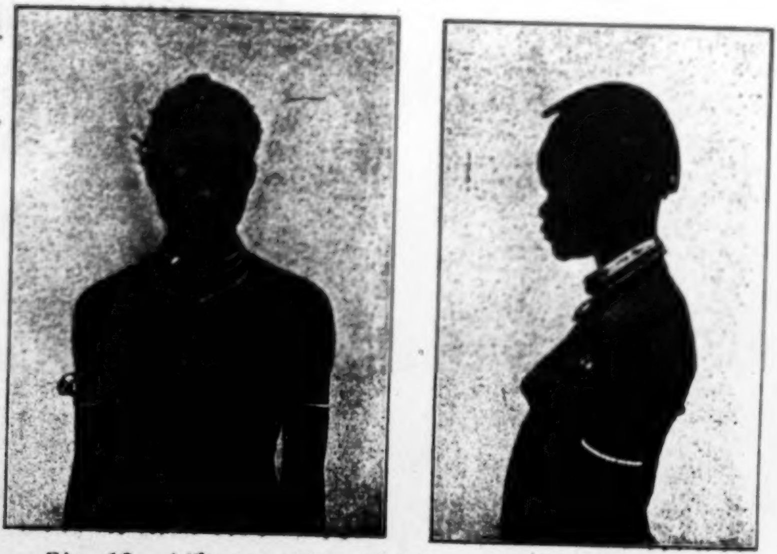

Fig. 13. Ajíngon, a Fang Girl from Alén (Essáuong Family).

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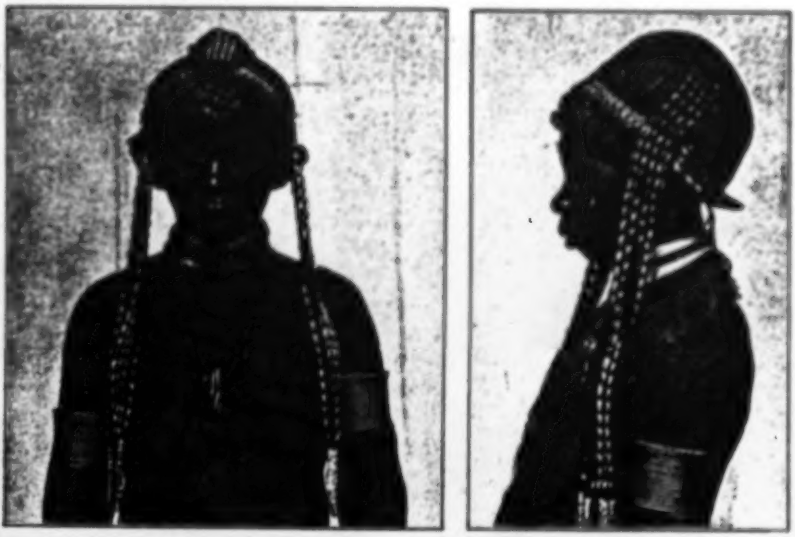

Fig. 14. Fang Woman from Alén (Essáuong Family).

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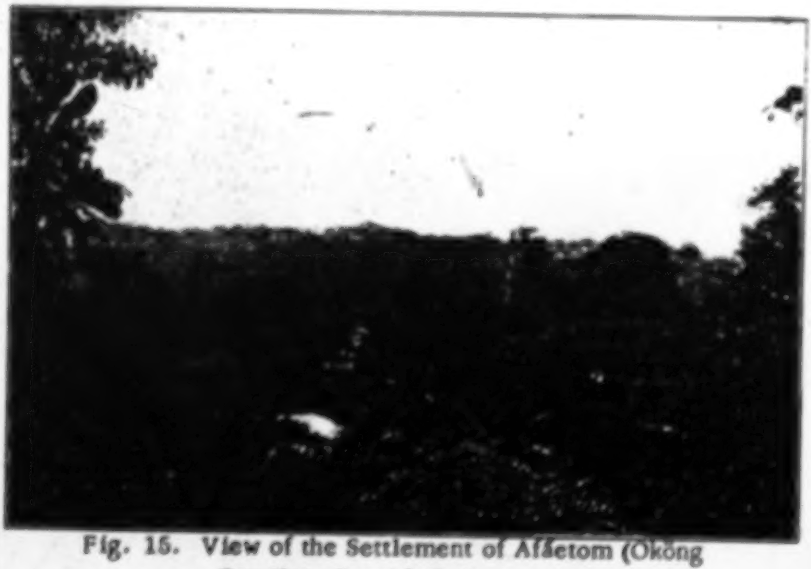

Fig. 15. View of the Settlement of Afäetom (Okong Family), Spanish Guinea.

Only the meeting houses are visible; the dwellings are hidden by plantains.

1: Tessmann--326 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate I

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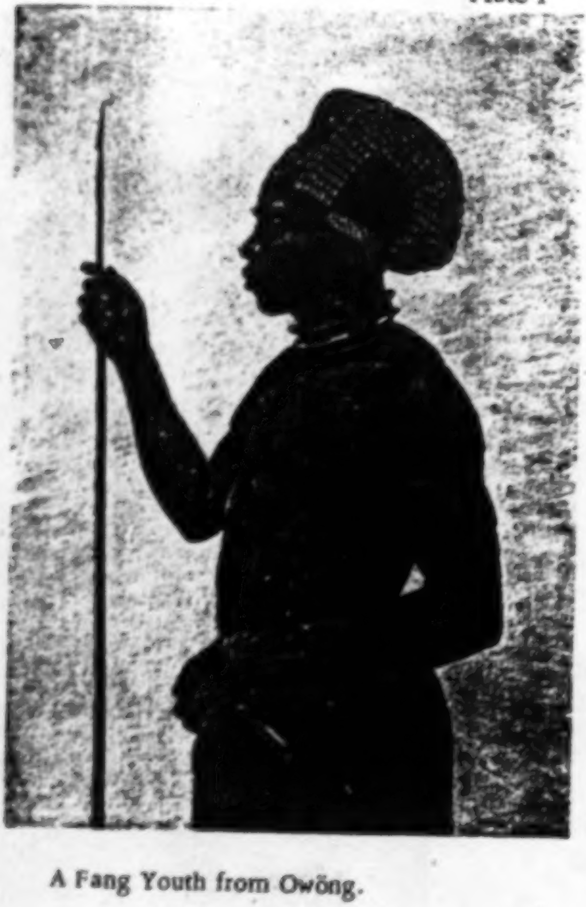


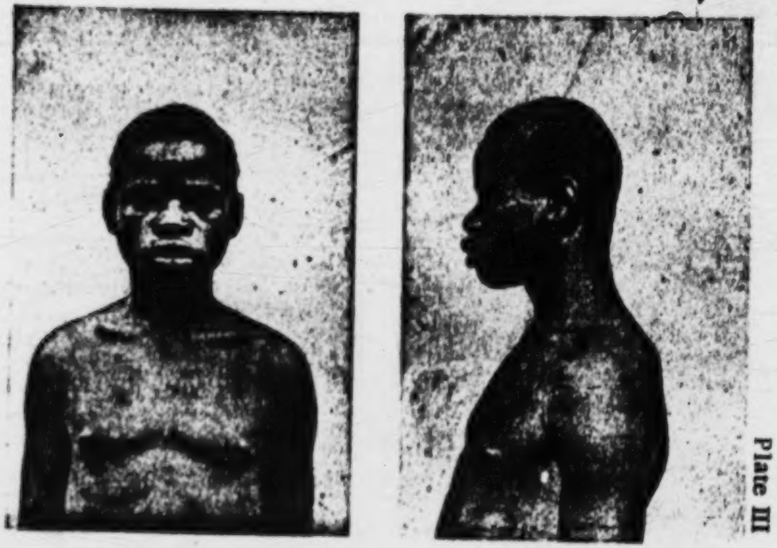
A Fang Youth from Owöng.

Plate II

Entering the Forest near Makonanám,
Spanish Guinea.

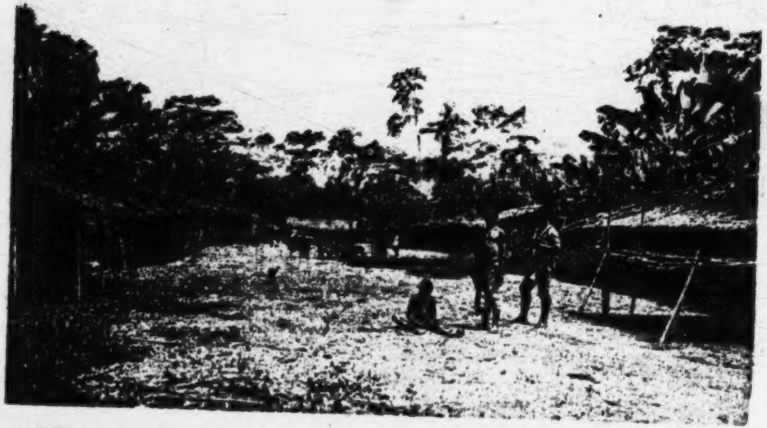
In the foreground, an umbrella tree, Musanga; in the middle under a banana tree, a Fang youth.

Plate III



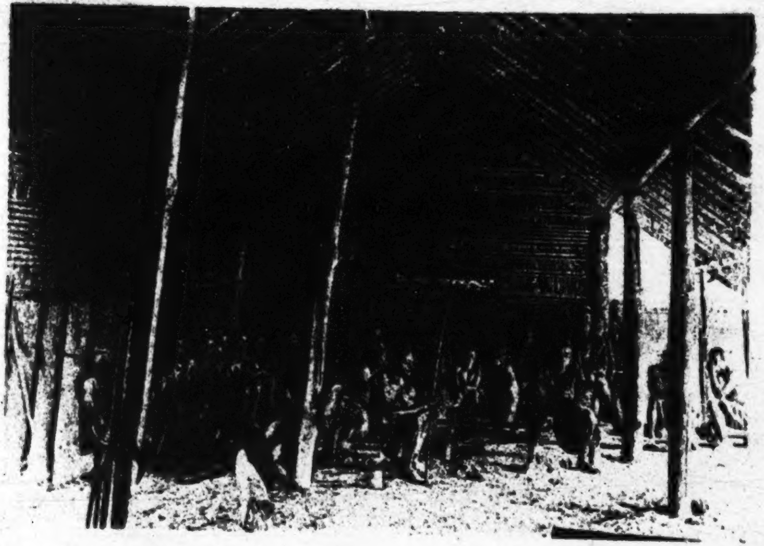
Ajóng Boka (Essauong Family), Fang.

Plate IV



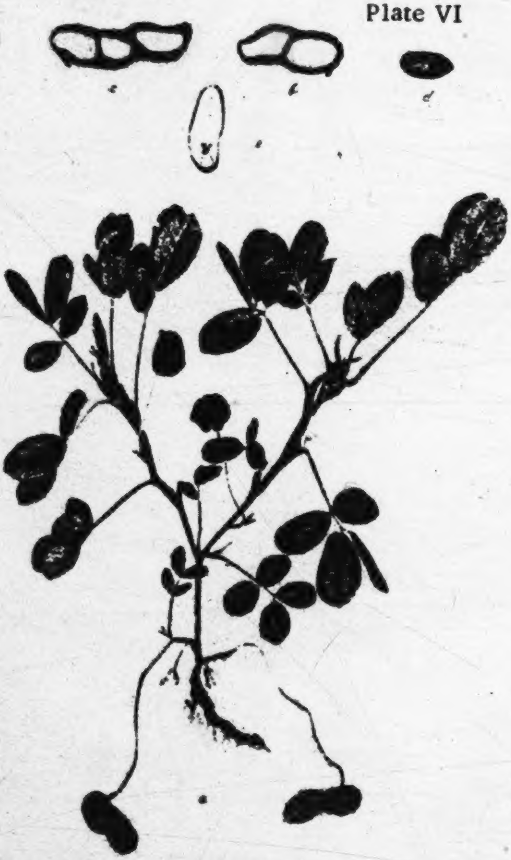
Village of Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

Plate V



Interior of the Meeting House of Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Ntum Region.

Plate VI



Groundnut, *Arachis hypogaea*.

a. Section of a shoot
b. Male blossom
c. Same in cross-section
d. Female blossom
e. Same in cross-section
f-h. Fruit
i. Transverse cross-section
k. Kernel

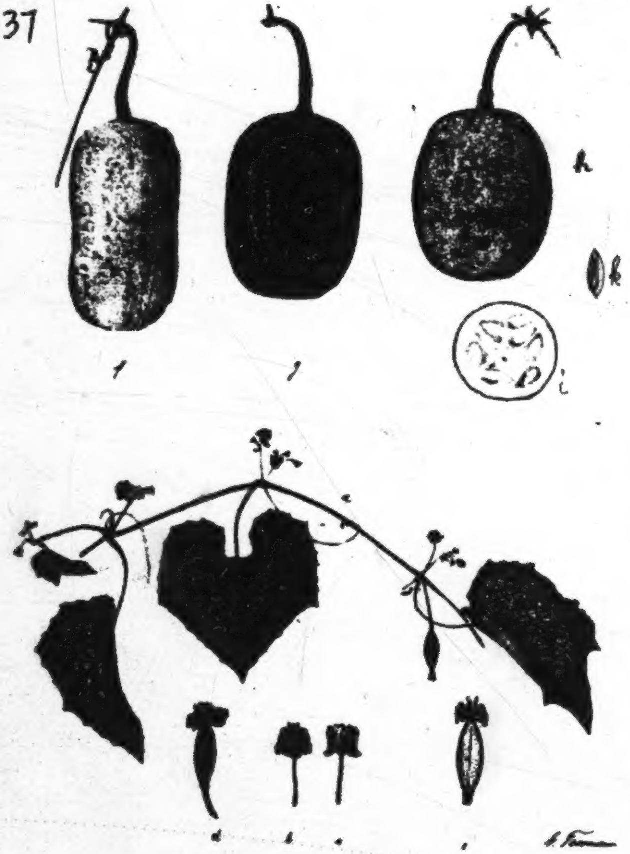
Plate VII

Groundnut Plantation with Maize in the background, Ntum Region.

1: Tessmann--333 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

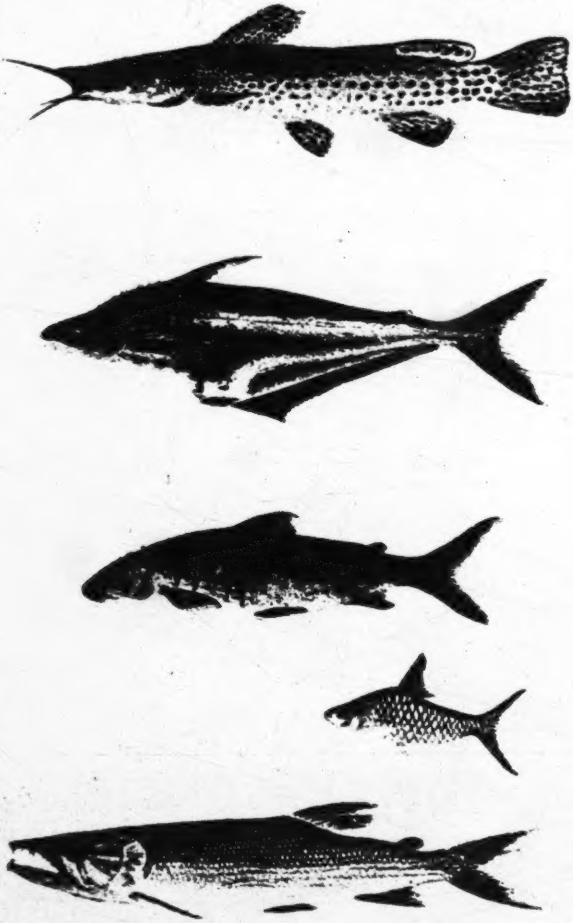
Plate VIII

137



Ngon, Cucumeropsis edulis Cogn.

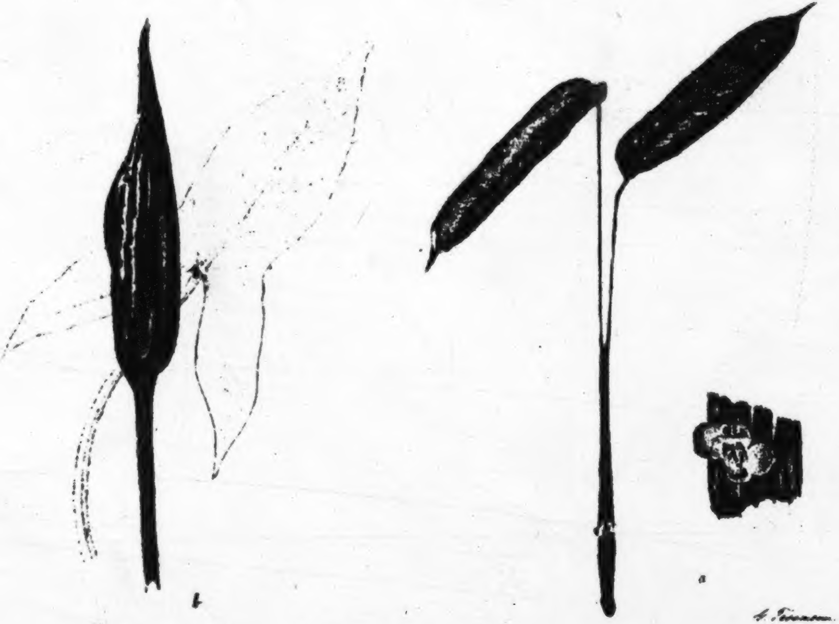
Plate IX



Fish from the Campo and Uelle Rivers.

a. *Auchenoglanis balayi* (Sauv.) var. *gravoti* Pellegr. (Fam. Siluridae).
b. *Eutropius banguelensis* Blgr. (Fam. Siluridae).
c. *Distichodus hypostomatus* Pellegr. (Fam. Siluridae).
d. *Barbus guirali* Thomin. (Fam. Cyprinidae).
e. *Sarcodaces odoë* (Bl.) (Fam. Characinidae).

Plate X



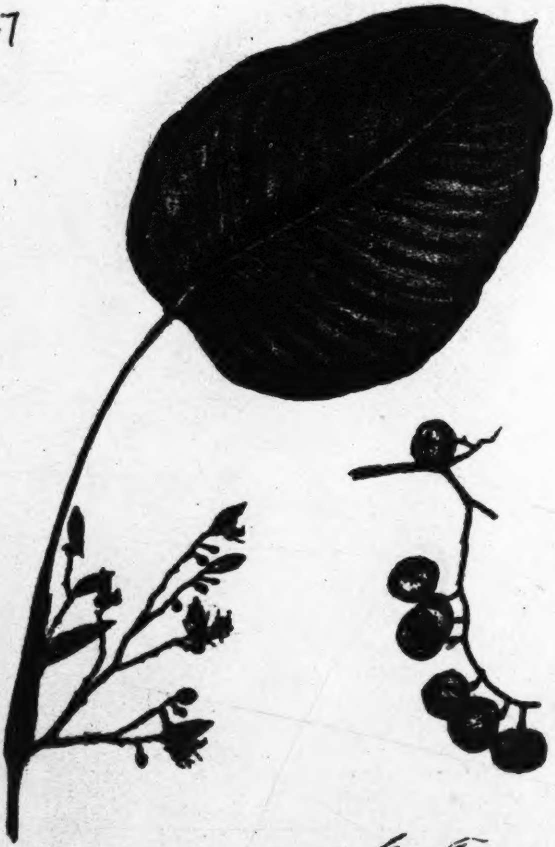
Plants providing Salt.

a. *Halopegia acurea* K. Sch., Fam. Zingiberaceae.
b. *Cyrtosperma senegalense* (Schott) Engl., Fam. Araceae.

1: Tessmann--336 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

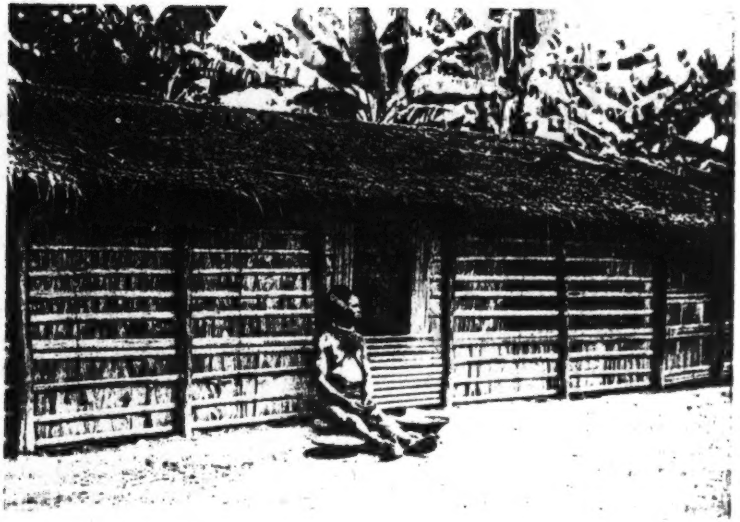
Plate XI

137



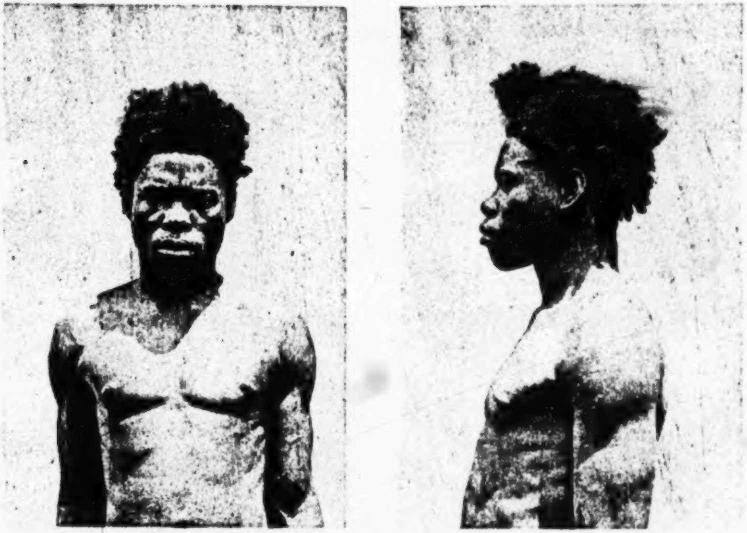
Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum.,
Fam. Marantaceae.

Plate XII



Dwelling in Bebai (Esseng Family) Ntum Region.

Plate XIII



Man from Angónneuai (Omwang Family). Spanish Guinea.

Plate XIV

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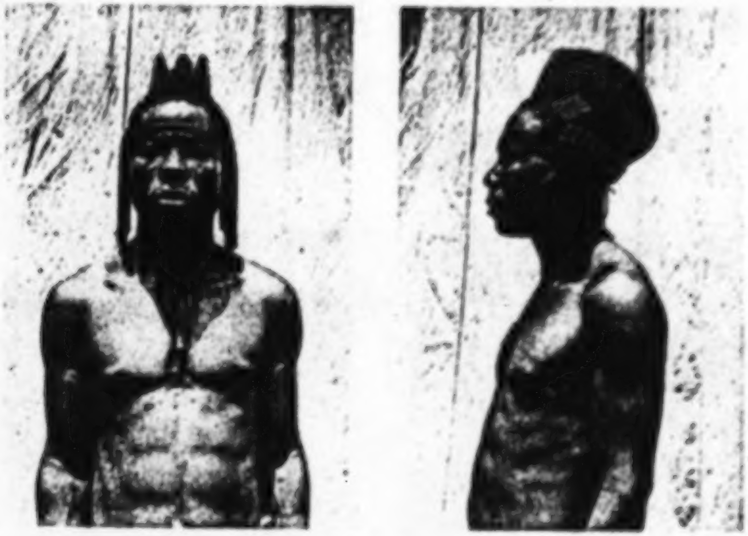


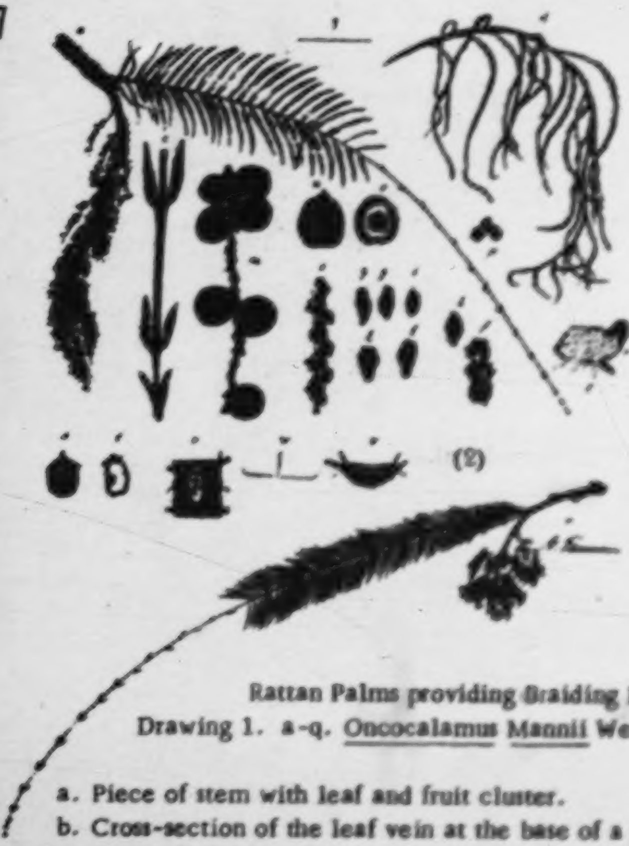
Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

Plate XV

142
29|
30|
415

Woman from Bebai (Esseng Family), Ntum Region.

Plate XVI



Rattan Palms providing Braiding Material.

Drawing 1. a-q. Oncocalamus Mannii Wendl.

a. Piece of stem with leaf and fruit cluster.
b. Cross-section of the leaf vein at the base of a pinna.
c. Upper part of the flagellum of an older leaf.
d. Inflorescence.
e. Upper part of a blossom spray, from the side.
f. Part of a blossom spray, from above.
g. Small blossoms.
h. The same after removal of a corner of the husk.
i. The same in cross-section.
k. Large blossom.
l. The same in cross-section
m. Upper part of a fruit spray.
n. Fruit.

(continued)

Caption for Plate XVI (continued)

o. Fruit, cross-section.
p. Three scales from the shell of the fruit.
q. Cross-section of a pinna.

Drawing 2. *r-w*. *Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum* Becc.

r. Upper part of the palm with leaf and terminal fruit cluster (greatly reduced in size).
s. Fruit (actual size).
t. Fruit, cross-section.
u. Piece from the leaf vein with apophyses of two pairs of pinnae (from above).
v. Cross-section of the leaf vein.
w. Cross-section of a pinna.

Plate XVII

Iron Smelting in Bebai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

Plate XVIII

Smiths in Bebai (Esseng Family) Ntum Region.